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REVIEW OF THE JOURNAL LATINSKAYA AMERIKA NO 12, 1985

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 17 Dec 85 pp 1-4

[Text] The journal features an article by V. Gavrilov, entitled "The Developing Countries and Outer Space in the Strategic Plans of the USA." It was not by chance, the author writes, that the U.S. ruling class came to the idea of using space in its "national interests" and of turning it into a "high frontier" of the Pentagon. It came as a logical consequence of strategic military directives and as a technocratic sequel to the theories and doctrines traditionally lying at the core of U.S. foreign policy. The drive by the present U.S. administration to declare not only a number of regions and zones on our planet but near-earth space, too, as a "sphere of U.S. vital interests" poses a global threat to mankind. It can already be concluded today, V. Gavrilov points out, that the Strategic Defense Initiative of the White House will adversely affect not only the economic position of many Third World countries but the course of their political development as well. One of the specific features of this development is the need to attain the real status of an independent entity in interstate affairs. This problem is quite pressing now for most Latin American countries.

The fact that the White House lists nuclear weapons among the systems that are growing outdated threatens to undermine the existing international treaties on nuclear-free zones (e.g., the Tlatelolco Treaty) and to frustrate the signing of those under preparation now, and is fraught with further proliferation of nuclear weapons throughout the world.

Continued militarization, specifically in developing countries, can nullify the results of the international efforts aimed at developing an effective policy for tackling the pending global problems.

G. Khozin appears in the journal with the article "Star Wars Against All the Peoples of the World." It is beyond any doubt, the author writes, that the extensive scope of the research and engineering efforts by the capitalist states to develop sophisticated and expensive space-based weapons will bring about a reorientation of scientific and technological progress in terms of individual countries and of the planet at large. Now, given that the economies of the majority of advanced capitalist and of a number of developing countries already experience a shortage of many mineral resources and undergo

serious structural changes and crisis phenomena, it becomes obvious that such a "tilt" in the military-technological policy of the US will necessarily and shortly affect the future of all mankind.

The political leadership of the US, G. Khozin notes, is oriented to the continued lopsided use of the advances of science and technology primarily in the military field.

One of the direct consequences of this selfish nationalist policy of the US is restriction of the opportunities for thorough use of the advances of science and technology for the benefit of the socio-economic progress of mankind. Materialization of the Strategic Defense Initiative immediately affects the interests of the developing countries. The switch-over of resources to its implementation will reduce the contributions of space technology to the programs of socio-economic development of Latin American, Asian and African countries and will cut the funds allocated for the projects involving the use of space data, which are of a limited scope anyway. The work for peace, for the prevention of the militarization of space and, first of all, for the frustration of the American "Star Wars" plans, the author points out, is a real way towards the creation of more favorable conditions for broad and fruitful cooperation among states in the name of progress for all mankind.

"The Mexican Petroleum Institute: A Major Research Center" is the title of an article by Y. Pogorelov. The Mexican Petroleum Institute (MIP), founded 20 years ago, the author writes, has supplied the national oil industry with the required technology and scientific and technical services, and forced its way onto the export market. These days its products are purchased by 23 importers in the developing and industrialized countries of America, Africa and Europe. The share of MIP is growing by high rates in the government spending on the development of science and technology: in 1973 it stood at 4.4, in 1977 at 11.1 and in 1984 it was as high as 23.5 percent.

The number of engineering ideas and inventions patented within the framework of MIP is one of the major indicators of its performance. In less than two decades the Institute has had 205 patents in oil refining, petrochemistry, chemical products for the oil industry, catalysts and so on registered at home and abroad.

In conditions of the current economic and financial crisis the government of Miguel de la Madrid has assigned MIP with two important tasks. The primary task, in view of the country's crying need for more foreign exchange, is to step up the export of oil technology and scientific and engineering knowhow. The Mexican Institute of Petroleum has already accumulated some experience in this field by exporting various technologies to the US, Japan, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Jamaica and other countries and by assisting a number of countries in designing industrial installations and offshore drilling platforms, in computer processing of the data of geophysical surveys and in training qualified personnel.

The second task involves the creation of adequate conditions for the production in the country of those machines, spares and materials for the oil

and petrochemical industries which still have to be imported now. The state-owned oil company PEMEX has signed an agreement with MIP under which the latter is preparing design documentation for the production of necessary equipment.

The journal also features the articles "Criticism of Non-Marxist Concepts of the Role of the Bourgeoisie in the Cuban Revolution" by L. Poskornina, "The Agrarian Aspect of the Political Crisis in El Salvador" by E. Ortega and other materials.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

BOURGEOISIE'S IMPORTANCE IN CUBAN REVOLUTION SEEN EXAGGERATED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA No 12, Dec 85 pp 32-43

[Article by L.S. Poskonina: "Criticism of Non-Marxist Concepts of the Role of the Bourgeoisie in the Cuban Revolution"]

[Excerpts] Socialist Cuba's great prestige in the international arena and its experience in resolving the fundamental problems of the developing countries (how to overcome a low level of development and dependence on imperialism, and how to eliminate Latifundism and capitalist production relations, as well as such capitalist vices as poverty, unemployment and illiteracy) draw the attention of broad social circles in Latin America, Asia and Africa to various aspects of the Cuban revolutionary process of the 50's.¹ In their attempts to alienate the democratic forces, the ideologues who reflect the views of the imperialist circles attach particular significance to distorting the experience of the revolutionary struggle against Batista's dictatorship in Cuba. The opponents of the Cuban revolution attempt to utilize a false interpretation of its history to distort the fundamental problems of the revolutionary processes on the continent and the tasks facing the progressive forces.

One of the key aspects in the ideological struggle is the question of the role played by the working class in the Cuban revolution. In order to downgrade its role bourgeois political science, sociology and historiography resort to distortion of the very nature and the moving forces of the Cuban revolution, which began as an anti-imperialist, democratic, agrarian one and subsequently grew into a socialist revolution.

Non-Marxist historiography usually advances the thesis about a "revolution of the middle class," a thesis which is based on the non-scientific concept of a certain "middle class." In this concept the very essence of the idea of the "middle strata" receives a vague, diffuse interpretation. With reference to the concept of the leading role of the "middle class," the latter is taken to mean either the bourgeoisie or a "special class," which supposedly includes representatives of the bourgeoisie as well as the proletariat and the middle strata and is viewed by virtue of this as the social foundation of the

capitalist system. Further, bourgeois political science rejects the Marxist-Leninist methodological criteria of social classes which make it possible to scientifically determine the content of the concept of the "middle strata."

By equating the bourgeoisie and the middle strata bourgeois historians and sociologists distort the genuine role of the middle strata in the Cuban revolution, and they ignore the process of their radicalization, which became the objective basis for cooperation with the working class. The middle strata were by no means the mythical "middle class"; the concept of the latter is advanced in order to conceal the class differentiation of Cuban society and the social composition of the revolutionary forces. In Cuba the middle strata were characterized by an enormously high rate of social activity; they possessed great revolutionary potential and played a major role in the revolution because they included a significant portion of the army of hired labor, large masses of the semi-proletarian population, the petty bourgeoisie, students and the intelligentsia, as well as some of those employed in the service sphere.

The concept of the Cuban revolution as a "revolution of the middle class" was adopted as a weapon by the representatives of desarrolismo--an influential current in the ideology of bourgeois reformism. The adherents of this current, while trying to neutralize the enormous revolutionizing potential of the Cuban experience, tried to prove the possibility of overcoming backwardness not by means of revolution but rather through the modernization of Latin American capitalism, in which the ideologues of desarrolismo assign a leading role to the bourgeoisie. They view the "middle class" solely as the bourgeoisie.

The growth of the antidictatorship struggle and of the conflict between the Batista regime and the individual strata of the bourgeoisie, and their resulting support (which is well known) of the opposition forces are judged in the same way by bourgeois historiography as proof of the thesis about the hegemony of the bourgeoisie in the Cuban revolution.²

Of course, one must not pass over the fact that in Cuba there were a number of objective factors which gave rise to the conflict between a part of the bourgeoisie, especially its oligarchical stratum, with the pro-American dictatorial regime established by Batista. These factors included the elimination of the 1940 constitution and bourgeois-democratic freedoms, as well as the refusal to carry out even the bourgeois reforms stipulated by the party of the "orthodox" in the event it came to power. Objectively the bourgeoisie was interested in eliminating the vestiges of feudalism, in economic growth and in creating broader opportunities to develop capitalism, to expand the domestic market, to overcome backwardness and to limit the imperialist dictates of the USA. Despite the fact that Cuba was in the number two position in Latin America with regard to the volume of U.S. capital investment and was deeply dependent on imperialism, the economic positions of the local bourgeoisie were growing stronger and stronger,⁶ and this resulted in the growth of its conflicts with the pro-American dictatorship. The policy of the dictatorship, whose main social base was limited to such strata of the upper bourgeoisie as the sugar-refinery owners, merchants and importers

related to the major Latifundists, and who were the mainstay of Cuba's neocolonial status, undermined the positions of the cattle raisers, textile entrepreneurs and owners of the small- and medium-sized sugar refineries.⁷ All this produced dissatisfaction among certain circles of the bourgeoisie and was the objective basis for their participation in the antidictatorship front.

The urban petty bourgeoisie, whose radical segment actively participated in the revolutionary struggle, also suffered from the oligarchy and the domination of U.S. imperialism. Out of nine bourgeois parties only the liberal and democratic parties went over to Batista's side.

At the same time the experience of the Cuban revolution testifies that although the revolutionaries skilfully utilized the disagreements which individual groups of the bourgeoisie had with the dictatorship and U.S. imperialism, it was not, however, the bourgeoisie but rather the urban and agricultural workers, the middle- and small-scale peasants, the students, the intelligentsia and other representatives of the urban middle strata who became the moving forces of the revolution.

The disorientation of the popular masses by the bourgeois parties seriously complicated the political situation in the country and made it more difficult to overthrow the dictator. All this explains why the new revolutionaries, who had their own program and who worked out their own methods of struggle, cannot be considered--even at the very beginning--as simply the radical wing of the party of the "orthodox," although they came from within it. As early as the Moncada period F. Castro came to the conclusion that there was a need to create an independent organization, which would not be dependent on the "venal," pro-imperialistically inclined politicians."¹⁰

The question of the bourgeoisie's participation in the revolution is a central one in the concepts of Latin American leftist radicalism--an influential current in Non-Marxist social thought, which was formulated in the 60's as a result of the direct influence of the Cuban revolution. The Leftist radical theoreticians had valid reasons for denying the hegemony of the bourgeoisie; however, they misinterpreted its role, declaring that the Latin American bourgeoisie was "completely subordinate" to imperialism and that it lacked its own interests and conflicts with imperialism. They viewed it as a "passive instrument" in the hands of foreign capital.¹⁹ The leftist radical theoreticians ignored the democratic stage of the revolution, the tasks of which were formulated in the Moncada program; thus they were inclined to completely deny any possibility of individual representatives of the bourgeoisie participating even in the beginning phase of the revolutionary process.

Such an interpretation signifies the absolutization of one of the facets of the bourgeoisie's political behavior and ignores the fact that the objective conflicts which the bourgeoisie had with imperialism were utilized by the revolutionary forces.

An analysis of the role of the bourgeoisie in the Cuban revolution occupies a substantial place in the latest ideas of those leftist radical ideologues,

whose system of views was subjected to profound transformation under the influence of the development of the revolutionary processes on the continent. For example, the eminent American sociologist and Latin American specialist, J. Petras, in his analysis of the position of the various classes in the course of the Cuban revolution beginning with the Moncada, recognizes the leading role of the working class and thus rejects the myth of its "privileged status," which he had defended in his previous works. While acknowledging that those strata of the bourgeoisie which were dissatisfied with the dictatorship participated in the revolution, Petras emphasizes that the upper bourgeoisie only supported the opposition of the working class with regard to the Batista dictatorship as they had a "completely different class perspective."²⁴ The bourgeois elements, notes Petras, not only did not head the revolutionary movement organizationally but also did not support ties with the vanguard detachments of agricultural and urban workers, nor did they participate in revolutionary transformations. The leadership of F. Castro, who had grasped the ideological traditions of the proletarian battles in the 30's, Petras writes, was the guarantee that the key positions of the revolutionary process were not controlled by the bourgeoisie. As for the petty bourgeoisie, quite a few participants in the revolution came from its ranks; nonetheless, it did not determine the historic content of the revolutionary struggle.²⁵

At the same time Petras's conception is not free of contradictions. While emphasizing, on the one hand, the leading role of the urban and rural workers in the revolution, at the same time he thinks that the bourgeoisie entered into the struggle against the dictatorship earlier than the masses of the workers and peasants, who, according to Petras, supposedly supported the revolution only at the start of 1959.²⁶

The flexible policy of the Cuban revolutionaries with regard to the bourgeoisie, as well as their dialectical judgement of its socio-political temper and of the possibilities and limits of its participation in revolution acquire a particular urgency under contemporary conditions. The conclusion about the bourgeoisie's historical inability to play a leading role in an anti-imperialist, democratic revolution with a socialist perspective was fully confirmed. At the same time the experience of the Cuban revolutionaries in utilizing the conflicts between the non-monopolistic strata of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship has permanent significance for the further development of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movements of Latin America. In setting as their task the expansion of the front of participants in the liberation movement, the Latin American communists start from the premise that the struggle against imperialism, the local oligarchy, which joined ranks with the foreign monopolies, and the fascist military, has a broad social base. It is precisely for this reason that the multi-faceted consideration for and utilization of a political factor like the conflicts between imperialism and the individual strata of the bourgeoisie are viewed as one of the essential elements in the politics of the revolutionary forces. Although the bourgeoisie is not capable of taking consistently anti-imperialist positions and its interests inevitably will collide with the interests of the working people, the communists conclude that "ahead there is a long path which can and must be taken by all who aspire to democratic changes."³⁴

In this regard the experience of the antidictatorship struggle in Cuba is acquiring special significance under present-day conditions. In the 70's the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua succeeded in uniting in the struggle against the Somoza dictatorship all the opposition forces, including in the end the bourgeoisie, which suffered from the policy of the pro-imperialist regime. The expansion of the front of the anti-dictatorship forces in Chile, which strive for the restoration of democracy, is enormously significant. R. Arismendi noted that in Uruguay even the major landowners (those who own the capitalist latifundia), as well as representatives of national business circles, participated in the movement against the dictatorship.³⁵ In Paraguay the domination of the dictatorship arouses the dissatisfaction of nearly all the strata of society, including the entrepreneurs, who oppose the abuses of the overgrown state bureaucracy and sometimes even the government as a whole.³⁶ At the same time the communists are clearly aware that the very nature of the bourgeoisie's participation in the democratic movement and its influence on the mass organizations depend largely on the degree of unity among the leftists forces, the effectiveness of their policy, as well as on the scale and on the level of organization in the revolutionary process.³⁷

For this reason it is fully to be expected that the acute problems related to a judgement of the role played by various classes in the Cuban revolution are also in the center of the ideological struggle on the continent today. In many cases these problems went beyond the framework of individual countries and acquired general Latin American importance. A critical analysis of the historiography of the Cuban revolution has great significance for the resolution of new problems which are being advanced by the development of the revolutionary processes in Latin America.

FOOTNOTES

1. The history of the revolution, its moving forces and the role of the various classes and strata in the revolutionary process-- all of this constitutes subject matter which has timely significance today. A thorough evaluation of the problems of the Cuban revolution is contained in the works of F. Castro and other Cuban leaders. See "I Syezd Kommunisticheskoy partii Kuby" [1st Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba]. Moscow, 1976; F. Castro "Oktyabrskaya revolyutsiya i Kubinskaya revolyutsiya" [The October Revolution and the Cuban Revolution]. Moscow, 1978; Historia de la Revolucion Cubana. Seleccion de discursos sobre temas historicos." La Habana, 1980. A serious analysis of the history of the Cuban revolution is provided in studies by Cuban scholars (for more detail see Ye. A. Larin. "The Cuban Revolution and the Development of the Science of History in Cuba," NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA, No 2, 1984) and in Soviet historiography: A.D. Bekarevich, V. A. Borodayev, K.O. Leyno, and A. Mansilya. "Velikiy Oktyabr i Kubinskaya revolyutsiya [Great October and the Cuban Revolution], Moscow, 1977; "Granma--novyy etap revolyutsionnoy borby na Kube" [The Granma--A New Stage in the Revolutionary Struggle in Cuba]. Moscow, 1978; E.A. Grinevich. "Kuba: put k pobede revolyutsii" [Cuba: the Way to the Victory of the Revolution]. Moscow, 1975; O.T. Darusenkoy. "The 26th of July Movement in the Cuban Revolution," NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA, No 1, 1979; "XX let Kubinskoy revolyutsii"

[Twenty years of the Cuban Revolution]. Moscow, 1980; "Inostrannyye monopolii na Kube" [Foreign Monopolies in Cuba], Moscow, 1976; "Kuba: opyt obshchestvennogo razvitiya" [Cuba: the Experience of Social Development], Moscow, 1979; Ye.A. Larin. "Povstanicheskaya armiya v Kubinskoy revolyutsii" [The Rebel Army in the Cuban Revolution], Moscow, 1977; "Monkada--nabat revolyutsii" [The Moncada--the Alarm Bell of the Revolution], Moscow, 1974; B.S. Nikiforov. "Kuba; krakh burzhuazhnykh politicheskikh partiy" [Cuba: the Failure of the Bourgeois Political Parties], Moscow, 1973; "Ocherki istorii Kuby" [Outline of Cuban History], Moscow 1978; L.Yu. Slezkin. "Istoriya Kubinskoy respubliki" [History of the Cuban Republic], Moscow, 1966.

2. H. Thomas. "Cuba or the Pursuit of Freedom," London, 1971, p 942; J. Huteau. "L'Amerique Latine en mutation," Paris, 1969, p 39; R. Dumont. "Cuba. Socialisme et developpement." Paris, 1964, p 30; Th. Draper. "Castroism. Thoery and Practice," New York, 1965, p 77.

3. M. Winocur. "Las clases olvidadas en la Revolucion Cubana," Buenos Aires. 1973.

4. M. Winocur. "Fidel Castro." Buenos Aires, 1973, pp 176, 179; M. Winocur. "Todo el poder al Ejercito rebelde!" Buenos Aires, 1973, pp 52-54.

5. Cited according to B.S. Nikiforov. Op.cit., p 231.

6. J.J. Dominguez. "Cuba. Order and Revolution," London, 1979, pp 68-69.

7. B.S. Nikiforov. Op. cit., pp 203-204; Ocherki istorii Kuby, pp 301-321.

8. Cited according to O.T. Darusenzov, B.V. Gorbachev and V.G. Tkachenko. Kuba--ostrov sozidaniya" [Cuba--Island of Creation], Moscow, 1975, p 113.

9. Cited according to O.T. Darusenzov. Op. cit., p 21.

10. Cited according to O.T. Darusenzov. Op. cit., p 25.

11. F. Castro. "Marxism-Leninism and the Cuban Revolution," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 1, 1979, p 6.

12. Cited according to M. Mencia. "The Idea of the Storming of the Moncada", CUBA, 1983, No 7, p 23.

13. H. Thomas. Op cit., p 942.

14. R. Castro, "The Banner of our Revolution," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 8, 1983, p 6.

15. Cited according to M. Mencia, Op. cit., p 26.

16. "I syezd Kommunisticheskoy partii Kuby," p 293.
17. GRANMA. La Habana, 28 July 1983.
18. Mencia. Op cit., p 26.
19. H. Galich. "Mapa hablado de la America Latina en el ano del Moncada," CASA DE LAS AMERICAS, La Habana, No 79, 1973, p 15.
20. O.T. Darusenkoy, B.V. Gorbachev, V.G. Tkachenko, Op. cit. p 134.
21. V.I. Lenin. "Poln. Sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 11, p 33.
22. B.S. Nikiforov. Op. cit., pp 328-332.
23. "Ocherki istorii Kuby," pp 420-422.
24. J. Petras. "Class, State and Power in the Third World." New Jersey, 1981, p 219.
25. Ibid., p 156.
26. Ibid., pp 156-157, 219-220.
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28. Ibid., pp 161-162.
29. Ibidem.
30. Ibid., p 91.
31. Historia de la Revolucion Cubana, p 395.
32. Cited according to M. Mencia. Op. cit., p 90.
33. Ibid., p 91.
34. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 3, 1982, p 25.
35. QUE PASA? Buenos Aires, 1 August 1984.
36. LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 7, 1974, p 51.
37. See M. F. Gornov and Yu.N. Korolev. "The Revolutionary Process in the Central American Countries: Historical Continuity and Characteristics" LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 4, 1984, p 19.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

BOLIVIAN ACTIVISTS EVALUATE PRE-, POST-ELECTION SITUATION

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 12, Dec 85 pp 64-67

[Interviews with Carlos Carvajal, chairman of the Bolivian Committee for Peace and Democracy, and Pablo Ramos Sanchez, rector of San Andres University, by unnamed LATINSKAYA AMERIKA journalists, date and place not specified]

[Text] Carlos Carvajal, chairman of the Bolivian committee for Peace and Democracy, visited the journal's editorial office before the country held general elections, which marked the end of a complex stage of political development, a period in which the government of the Democratic Popular Unity front headed the state. Pablo Ramos Sanchez, rector of San Andres University, answered the questions put by our correspondent after Victor Paz Estenssoro had become president of the republic for the third time.

[Question] What were the specific features of the election struggle in Bolivia?

[Answer] C. Carvajal. The question is quite complex. Many people ask how it could happen that a government which came to power in the upsurge of the general democratic movement, is running into opposition from the broad popular masses and the workers trade unions?

As is well known, the front of Democratic Popular Unity (UDP) came to power in October 1982. At the same time the UDP coalition, which received more than twice as many votes as its nearest rival, the MNR (National Revolutionary Movement), had only an insignificant majority in Parliament. In other words, there was a possibility that Parliament would turn into a permanent discussion club, into a trap for the government. In this regard, the Communist Party of Bolivia and the left nationalist revolutionary movement, which were part of the government, posed the question of the need to hold early parliamentary elections.

We were confident that we would be able to gain a parliamentary majority. But we had to reckon with the fact that the other parties which were part of the

UDP considered it possible to start ruling the country without holding parliamentary elections.

As a result, it turned out that Parliament did indeed become a discussion club. The masses left the government front in ever greater numbers.

I think that one needs to look for the reasons both within as well as outside the work of the leftist government itself. These reasons can be divided into two subgroups; internal and external. We will dwell on only a few of them.

The front worked out the basic platform of the UDP. I consider it to be one of the important achievements of the Bolivian people. It was completely in accord with the historical moment being experienced by the country. But this document was general in nature. Its inadequacy lay in the lack of more detailed concrete plans. When excessively general propositions are put forward (for example, in the program we talk about "satisfying the needs of the popular masses," without specifying exactly which needs), the masses may hold out excessively great hopes and expect the satisfaction of literally all of their needs and requirements, and moreover immediately!

The lack of concreteness and precision not only aroused expectations which greatly exceed opportunities, but they have created difficulties in the entire sphere of administration, in the entire work of the government.

That is one of the reasons. In addition, opinions within the front have not always been unanimous. The activities of the so-called independents have been reflected most strongly in the UDP's departure from the original plans.

It should be noted that the government immediately ran up against the problem of an economic crisis unprecedented in Bolivia's history. There is no question that the crisis limited the opportunities for carrying out the UDP program. The crisis is extreme, but by no means all Bolivians recognize the catastrophic nature of the economic situation. Unfortunately, there is evidence of this in the attitudes toward the government adopted by certain segments of the working class.

A majority of the workers voted for the UDP. But this support did not materialize in that form which we communists consider to be fundamental: constantly expanding participation by the organized masses in the management of production and society. We considered the key factor of that support to be implementation of the UDP program. Practical steps were taken to attract the working class to participation in the management of state affairs. But in only one instance were we successful--in the case of worker co-management of COMIBOL (Mining Corporation of Bolivia). Four worker delegates and three government delegates became part of the directorate of the country's largest mining enterprise.

Opponents of the working class talk about the failure of the very idea of worker co-management. We think that this is not the case: the process of accumulating experience is taking place, and much obviously needs to be corrected. For us co-management is not limited simply to the presence of

delegates in the highest management organ of any given enterprise. Working people must take direct part in the work of administrative organs at all levels, including the work in those places where plans and programs are being developed.

And we are confident that if the experience of worker co-management is taken into account, then in time it will make it possible to take a great step toward the consistent transformation of the system for the state management of the economy. For this reason the Communist Party of Bolivia has constantly insisted on the introduction of worker co-management at all state enterprises. But the leadership of the Bolivian Workers Center, and especially its Trotskiyite and anarchist circles, has taken up opposition to co-management in general. The rejection has been formulated with approximately this argument: "If we participate in administration of the state, it will mean that we are co-participants in the affairs of a government which is not a workers government. We, they say, have nothing in common with this government; we will continue to struggle and to make our previous demands."

The activities of the ultra-leftists has made dialog between the working class and the government more difficult.

Let us move to external, international factors. Since the UDP came to head the government, Bolivia has been experiencing a virtual financial blockade. The pressure from international financial organs and the ruling circles of the Western world increased particularly after the statement by the Bolivian government that it was stopping payment of its foreign debt.

The only source of freely convertible currency was to be found in exports, and especially in the export of all its gas and ore to Argentina; however the prices for these commodities fell.

I have touched on only the most important reasons for the gradual departure of the masses from the ruling front. Naturally, this process has been reflected in the positions of the Communist Party. In November 1984, while remaining in the ranks of the front, it left the government in order to analyze the situation more carefully, taking into account the interests of the broad popular masses, and to work with them to find an alternative. That is, it posed a task not only of a tactical, but also of a strategic nature, if can be put it that way.

[Question] How would you judge the results of the general elections?

[Answer] P. Ramos. In the elections which were held in Bolivia on 14 July 1985, the rightist political parties and currents were victorious. For the leftist forces the voting by the popular masses was a kind of "punishment" for the fact that they have not been able to resolve the fundamental problems of our economy. For example, the rule of General Banzer (1971-1978), as is well known, was harsh. Having established a fascist type of dictatorship in Bolivia, he adhered to a policy of repression and violence. Further, wages were reduced; a massive attack on workers social rights and their standard of living was undertaken. However, he received votes in regions and districts

where the proletarian population was predominant. How can this contradiction be explained? Clearly, the people had decided to teach the leftist forces a good lesson: upon coming to power, the first thing which must be done is to unite and to achieve unity on the basis of a common program of action: the second is to implement a corresponding economic policy and not to stop half way. What is the essence of this lesson? It is that Bolivia is in need of profound democratic changes.

[Question] In your opinion, how will events develop in the near future?

[Answer] P. Ramos. The new government will not be able to cope with the crisis. The rightists are clearly attempting to carry out certain reforms in the area of finance. But after all, the crisis by its very nature is structural. It cannot be overcome with partial reforms. In addition, Bolivia has no stratum of the bourgeoisie or any group of bourgeois factions which could propose a program acceptable to the social groups which are potentially capable of being allies of the bourgeoisie.

Thus, in the near future the political instability in Bolivia will continue. And the problem of coordinating the actions of Parliament and the executive branch will also continue. Victor Paz Estenssoro, who was elected president, won in a majority of the country's departments, with the exception of the most populated--La Paz and Cochabamba. For this reason a majority of the senators have followed him, but in the Chamber of Deputies he has only a relative majority. And clearly it is there that the main battle between government and the legislators will develop.

[Question] What is the mood in the army?

[Answer] P. Ramos. The army's position, as always, is ambiguous. The army has a democratic sector. The highest command positions are occupied by democrats such as General Sejas Tordoya, the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, who oppose military coups. However, there are also fascist elements, and simple reactionaries. When they are predominant in the leadership, the position of the army as a whole changes.

[Question] What tasks face the leftist forces?

[Answer] P. Ramos. It should be said very definitely that we have suffered a political defeat. The decline of the democratic movement is evident. But at the same time the leftist forces have learned a great deal. The results of the elections force us to draw the appropriate conclusions. At the present moment it is perfectly clear that only in unity can the leftist forces count on success. No one leader by himself, no one leftist party by itself and no one movement by itself will be able to achieve success. And this lesson has already been learned.

I would like to single out one ideological aspect of the struggle. Bolivia is one of the most politicized countries on the continent; it is a country with a relatively high level of political consciousness. Despite this, the development of the political situation has shown that the peak of a crisis can

be utilized by political movements of various types, including those which pursue goals which do not coincide with the interests of the majority, i.e., with the interests of the working people. People can suffer a kind of "memory loss" and vote for Banzer. For this reason we have a great deal of ideological work to do. The intensity of this work must be stepped up immediately, along with the struggle for the unity of the leftist forces.

[Question] What is the future of the ideology of the so-called revolutionary nationalism?

[Answer] P. Ramos. "Revolutionary nationalism" as such no longer exists. "Revolutionary nationalism" began with Paz Estenssoro, and it is completing its cycle with Paz Estenssoro. Why? Because it is impossible to overcome a crisis by implementing reforms. The crisis will do away with the reforms as well, and it will lead to the ideological failure of "revolutionary nationalism," whose age has lasted too long. In the meantime Banzer, this "man for the future" is in reserve. And the leftist forces need to be prepared for this possible scenario in the development of events.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

WORK OF CUBAN CENTER FOR AMERICAN STUDIES DESCRIBED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 12, Dec 85 pp 100-101

[Unsigned article: "Center for American Studies in Cuba"]

[Text] In the network of regional academic institutions on the Island of Freedom the Center for American Studies (CEA) occupies a special place; it is here that the processes taking place in the countries of the Western hemisphere are subjected to comprehensive study. The journal's Caribbean correspondent, V.N. Lunin, asked the CEA director, the eminent Cuban scholar Luis Suarez Salazar, to tell the readers of our journal about the history of the establishment and the basic directions in the work of the center.

The Center for American Studies began to be developed in May 1977. Originally, economic researchers predominated in the organization, and this resulted in a certain tendency to study economic problems. Gradually the center's collective arrived at the opinion that research in the area of American studies should be comprehensive. At the same time a specialized center for international economic problems was essential. A new institute--CIEM--was created for this purpose.

The prominent Cuban scholar, Santiago Diaz Paz, was appointed director of the CEA; he held the post until August 1984. The academic staff of the center is not large--a few more than 10 people. In the first phase of its work the CEA encountered quite a few difficulties, caused primarily by the complete lack of skilled personnel. After all, for a long time Cuba had no specialized organization in which the processes taking place on the American continent could be studied.

From the very beginning the CEA began to fulfill an important function in its work on fundamental problems related to the neocolonialist penetration of the USA into Latin America, the activities of the multinationals, the liberation movement on the continent, the training of skilled specialists, the organization of national and international conferences, symposia and seminars. The first nation-wide seminar on the subject of "Present-Day American

Imperialism," which was organized in 1981, had great significance. About 100 specialists took part in it, and more than 30 academic organizations and practical agencies rendered indirect assistance in holding it.

The journal CUADERNOS NUESTRA AMERICA first came out in July 1983. The title of the journal testifies to the solicitous attitude which Cuban scholars have toward the legacy of the great patriot and thinkers--Jose Marti, who frequently talked about the differences between the two Americas--"ours" and "the other"-- North America. The journal deals with the political and socio-economic processes taking place in the USA and in Latin America. CUADERNOS DE NUESTRA AMERICA currently comes out twice a year but there are plans to publish it on a quarterly basis. In addition, the center publishes two other journals: AVANCE DE INVESTIGACION and CUADERNOS ECONOMICOS SEMESTRALES, as well as individual collections of materials.

CEA has organized a whole series of international conferences and seminars in which scholars from the Latin American countries, the USA and the socialist states have taken part. The 1983 conference entitled "The United States in the 80's" (a three-volume work has been prepared on the basis of materials from this forum) received a great deal of international attention. In November 1981 and November 1984 CEA joined with House of the Americas to hold two international seminars on the position of ethnic minorities (the black population, Chicanos, Cubans, Indians and Puerto Ricans) in the USA: they make up a significant portion of the U.S. population--50 million people. Last year the CEA organized an international seminar on the U.S. elections. In the second half of October 1984 the Center for American Studies and Caribbean House jointly held in Santiago de Cuba the first international seminar on the Caribbean countries, a meeting of the anti-imperialist intelligentsia of the Caribbean devoted to the memory of Maurice Bishop. This list of academic gatherings organized by CEA is by no means complete.

At the present time the Center has two departments--one for Latin America, headed by Juan Valdez Paz, and one for North America, led by Rafael Hernandez. The Latin American department has three research groups, one for the Caribbean countries, one for Central America and Mexico and one for South America. The CEA has plans to create a sector for regional studies, which will become a third department of the center in the future; problems related to the entire continent will be studied here.

The CEA's extensive academic ties, primarily with institutes and universities in Western hemisphere countries, contributes in no small degree to the center's fruitful work. The North American department, in particular, has established firm contacts with the Latin American Research Association (LACA) in the USA, with many American academic centers and universities, including Pittsburgh, Harvard and New York, as well as with a number of American scholars and professors.

The center maintains multi-faceted ties with research institutes and universities in Mexico such as UNAM (National Autonomous University of Mexico), CBLA (expansion unknown), CIDE (expansion unknown) and CEECTEM

(expansion unknown), as well as with groups of Latin Americans working in Mexico such as the Salvadoran Center for Social Action. In Central America CEA has established contacts with the Regional Coordination Center for Economic and Social Research (CRIEC) in Panama, which is headed by the well-known Nicaraguan scholar, Javier Gorostiaga; with the National Institute of Social Research, the Center for the Study of Agrarian Problems, the Institute of Sandinista Studies and other Nicaraguan centers; and with Costa Rican institutes, in particular with the Higher Council of the Central American University (CSUCA). In the Caribbean countries CEA has established contacts both with major Caribbean specialists (including those living in emigration), as well as with scientific and academic institutions: the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic), the Center for the Study of Puerto Rican Conditions (Puerto Rico), the Caribbean "Justice and Peace" project (Puerto Rico) and others. In South America contacts have been established with organizations in Venezuela, Colombia, Argentina and Peru.

CEA has been active in expanding relations with related institutes in the socialist states, especially in the Soviet Union. This concerns first of all such academy-affiliated institutes as the Institute of Latin America (ILA), the Institute of the USA and Canada, the Institute of World Economics and International Relations. Not only is an academic exchange maintained with ILA, but a monograph on problems of international relations in the Caribbean is also being prepared for publication in conjunction with ILA.

Of course, not all problems have been solved, but that is natural. The main point is that a new branch of knowledge in socialist Cuba--American studies--has been born and is gathering strength.

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BOOK ON BRITISH WEST INDIES REVIEWED

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[Review by N.M. Davydova of book "Ot Koloniy k suverenitetu. Iz istorii osvoboditel'noy borby karibskikh koloniy Anglii" [From Colonies to Sovereignty. From the History of the Liberation Struggle of England's Caribbean Colonies] by L.V. Skripnikova, Moscow, "Mysl", 1985, 176 pages.

[Text] The Soviet reader who is interested in problems of Latin America and the Caribbean discovers for himself the ever increasing diversity in the problems related to this region. Without forgetting the similarity in the historical fates of these peoples, he finds out previously unknown features in both the past and in the present of the Latin American and Caribbean countries.

L.V. Skripnikova's book is one of those which help people to better understand these features. The work is devoted to precisely that part of the region (Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados and Guyana are the focus of attention), where the greatest diversity is manifested within the framework of the Latin American community. One can even say that with regard to certain ethno-cultural features and their own political history, the English-speaking countries of the Caribbean are closer to the Afro-Asian zone of the developing world than to Spanish-speaking America.

In tracing the process of social development in the Caribbean over four centuries (beginning with the establishment of British domination), Skripnikova devotes a great deal of attention to the history of the struggle by the popular masses; at first it was a struggle against the system of slave holding and subsequently a struggle for national and social liberation. At the same time, the book considers the interests of the ruling circles of the mother country and the elite of colonial society. The process of the historical development of the British West Indies is presented as the end result of a complex interaction of class interests and contradictions, as well as the relationship between local conditions and conditions related to the formation of the British empire. These positions form the basis for the author's criticism of the thesis about England's "civilizing" mission in the West Indies, and the myth of London's "gift" of independence to its Caribbean colonies.

The treatment of plantation slavery and its socio-economic content in the British West Indies (pp 36-54) should be considered as a definite contribution to Soviet Latin American studies. In the long-running discussion on this problem Skripnikova inclines toward the position that this phenomenon is related to the capitalist market and to the interest in obtaining surplus value under specific conditions, i.e., when the capitalist and land owner are united in one person. "The close relationship to the world market," writes Skripnikova, "the high degree of marketability and the extreme exploitation of slave labor for the purpose of obtaining the maximum surplus value are the most characteristic features of plantation farming in the 18th and first third of the 19th century" (p 41).

Although the present period is not singled out for treatment in this work (the author does not set this as her goal), a thorough analysis of the emergence and evolution of various political and trade union movements, and of the roles of their founders and leaders in the period of the 30-60's in our era, helps one to understand the principles and the orientation of the current ruling and opposition parties in the English-speaking Caribbean countries, as well as the activities of the leading trade union associations and, correspondingly, to better understand the complexities of the current domestic political situation.

Nonetheless, the author has succeeded in relating the history to the current situation, and in a direct way. Instead of a conclusion, a outline of recent events is provided, including the U.S. military intervention in Grenada and the emergence of a new focus of tension in the Caribbean.

The description of Garveyism is of interest; unfortunately, it is extremely short (pp 121-122). As is well known, this movement, which is complex in nature,¹ exerted a great influence on the political life in many Caribbean countries and on the U.S. black population; even now, it has an influence, having given rise to both progressive as well as reactionary nationalist tendencies.

The undoubted virtue of this book is its solid grounding in source study. The author relies on research by Soviet and foreign scholars, historians, official government documents, legislative acts from colonial times and evidence from memoirs. Skripnikova has brought into academic circulation materials from the English collection of the Vorontsov library, which is preserved at Odessa State University. This provides further evidence that historians specializing in Latin American have substantial reserves to study in the domestic collections of literature from the prerevolutionary period.

This book is written in language which is picturesque and easy to understand. It should be noted that the amount of factual information in the study sometimes exceeds the level of generalizations drawn from those facts.

1. Its forefather was the Jamaican-born Marcus Moziah Garvey, (1887-1940), ideologue and organizer of the struggle of the black masses; he frequently absolutized the significance of the race factor.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

1986 CUBAN PARTY CONGRESS TO BE SHOWCASE FOR ECONOMIC GAINS

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 12, Dec 85 pp 132-135

[Article by V.A. Galochkin: "Along the Path of Peace, Freedom and Creative Work"]

[Text] On the Island of Freedom they have a good tradition of giving each year a "name." And by these "names" alone one can trace the basic stages in the path traversed by the Cuban revolution; some examples are "Year of Liberation," "Year of Agrarian Reform," "Year of the Elimination of Illiteracy," "Year of the 1st Communist Party Congress," "Year of the 9th Festival," "Year of the 2d Communist Party Congress."

Last year, 1985, was named "Year of the 3d Communist Party Congress." This name refers to the summing up of results and to the development of new large-scale plans. What kind of results are the Cuban people taking to the party congress scheduled for February?

The successes which have been achieved in agriculture in the period since the 2d Congress of the Cuban Communist Party provide evidence that the country has achieved a great deal. Ever greater yields are resulting from the policy, chosen in accordance with the objective laws of socialism, of increasing the effectiveness of production and management, improving the economic mechanism, raising the material as well as the moral incentives for labor, and expanding the role of current and future planning and of the rational utilization and economy of resources.

In the past five-year period the creative nature of the Cuban revolution has been revealed even more fully. The country's economic potential has been increased significantly. The republic has a right to be proud of its current indicators, many of which are unattainable by a majority of the states in the region. The following data provide evidence of this. For example, in 1982-1984 there was a 9 percent drop in production in Latin America as a whole, while Cuba showed a 24 percent increase. The high rate of increase in the gross national product--it was 22.6 percent in the first four years of the five-year plan--is completely in line with the figures proposed in the decisions of the 2d Communist Party Congress.

The sugar industry is the main, vitally important sector of the national economy; it is now characterized by steady growth in labor productivity and production effectiveness. The loading and transporting of sugar cane, as well as the basic operations of its cultivation are fully mechanized. The same can be said about the loading of sugar in the country's ports. It is significant that Cuba can now plan and build sugar plants independently.

The country now builds in a month and a half as much as was built in a year before the revolution. Plants and factories are being constructed; floors of universities and palaces of culture are going up; workers apartments with modern conveniences are being built, take for example the Alamar district in Havana or the Antonio Maceo housing project in Santiago-de-Cuba.

In 1984 the republic's economic growth amounted to 7.4 percent, while labor productivity grew 5 percent. All these impressive achievements were inextricably linked with the processes of strengthening discipline and order in labor collectives, increasing the responsibility of personnel and improving the entire operation of party and trade union organizations.

And it was in the Second (just completed) Five-Year Plan that the country was able to link more organically the development of its economy's base sectors with the production of goods for the people. The growth of industry and agriculture have created the conditions necessary to improve the supply of food and consumers goods for the public. Although there are still quite a few difficulties and unresolved problems in this area, the population's needs are being satisfied to an ever greater degree. The per person retail trade turnover has increased significantly. The non-rationed supply of meat and dairy products for working people is being expanded. The sale of television sets, radios and refrigerators has been increased.

The Communist Party of Cuba is attempting to solve economic and social problems together. Cuba is the first of the Latin American countries to put modern medicine at the service of health protection for the working people and has already exceeded the future indicators set out for the year 2000 by appropriate prognoses of the World Health Organization. There is further evidence of this in the reduction of infant mortality and the increase in the life span to 73.5 years (on the eve of the revolution it was only 53), and the elimination of such diseases as poliomyelitis and tuberculosis. Cuba is the only Western hemisphere country in which health care expenditures are rising rather than falling. Today about 600 million pesos per year are being appropriated for the needs of medicine; this is 14 percent more than 10 years ago. Cuba is currently one of the leaders in the area of health care among the developing countries, and for a number of indicators it exceeds many industrially developed states.

Cuba's achievements in the area of education are also impressive. The Cuban working people already have, as a minimum, six-year education, and the problem of achieving universal nine-year education is now being resolved. Today every third Cuban is a student. At the present time there are 42 higher educational institutions attended by more than 200,000 people, more than half of whom are full-time students.

Cuban specialists work in Mongolia and Vietnam, in Libya and Nicaragua, in the Congo and Laos, in Angola and Ethiopia. Today thousands of young men and women from 80 countries are receiving an education in Cuba. UNESCO sends its experts to study the Cuban experience in eliminating illiteracy and developing education in order to use that experience in other Latin American and Afro-Asian countries.

The successes of the Cuban economy increase the republic's export potential as well. At the present time Cuba supplies the overseas market with out 180 different items. It now supplies its own oil, the production of which will reach 2 million tons annually in the Third Five-Year Plan. Cuba, which had virtually no machine-building nor metallurgical industry, offers customers such products as slabs, steel blanks, large diameter wire, semitrailers and various pieces of agricultural equipment. In addition, Cuba exports cement, medicines, sporting goods, books, high quality paper, not to mention traditional export goods--sugar, nickel, copper, chromium and citrus fruits.

The successes of the Cuban economy are obvious and significant. Today life definitely requires a transition to new, intensive forms of production.

"In the modern world with its contradictions and many unresolved problems, especially for the developing countries," noted Fidel Castro, "our country is in a privileged position because it is a part of the socialist alliance... Cooperation with the Soviet Union is the mainstay of our present and our future."

Last year a long-term program for economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba for the period up to 2000 was signed. The signing of this historic document marks a new step in the development and intensification of socialist economic integration of the CEMA member countries and raises Soviet-Cuban cooperation onto a qualitatively higher step.

The Cuban people did not have a moment of rest during the difficult and heroic years of the revolution. It can be said that there was not a single method in the arsenal of imperialism which was not tried against the Island of Freedom. All this required of communists and all the working people of Cuba a constant vigilance and a high level of combat and political preparation of the warriors who fought in the territorial militia. Today the motto "Production and Defence" is as timely as before. That is why in these days, when the people are completing preparations for the third high forum of their tested vanguard, the posters and banners of celebration show the following subject more often than others: rifles and a machete are raised against a background of the early morning sky; above them are the national flag and the scarlet banner of proletarian solidarity. This is the traditional symbol of the Cuban Communist Party congresses.

The forthcoming congress will discuss those questions which are most important for the life of the republic. Particular attention is now being given to the development of the basic directions in the socio-economic development for the

coming five-year period and for the period up to the year 2000, to the improvement of the system for planning and managing the national economy and to the improvement of the administrative-political division of the country. There are also plans to introduce certain amendments to the charter. The party program must be worked out and adopted: it will reflect the main strategic goals of the Cuban communists.

At present the Cuban Communist Party unites within its ranks about a million and a half fighters. The number is extremely significant when one considers that after the 2d congress, the process for the selection of candidates became much stricter and more thorough. The growth of the party ranks is not forced; it is accompanied by consistent measures to improve the quality of people in the primary organizations. But the number of communists continues to grow. This is primarily because better representatives of the working class are being accepted.

The party is an authoritative political force with powerful moral potential, a genuine vanguard of the popular masses. It strengthens the revolutionary, internationalist consciousness of the working people and contributes in this way to the formation of the new person.

Very close relations, which are genuinely fraternal and comradely, are maintained between the CPSU and the Cuban Communist Party. Soviet and Cuban communists think alike; they are comrades-in-arms in the great struggle for socialism and communism. Cuban communists and the entire Cuban people care a great deal about the cause of the Soviet people, and for their part Soviet communists and the Soviet people show deep and sincere concern for their Cuban brothers.

With each passing day the friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union--the first country of socialism in the world--and the Republic of Cuba--the first country of socialism in the Western hemisphere--grows stronger. Under the Communist Party the working people of Cuba, while accelerating the pace of creative work and depending on the assistance and support of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, are conquering new frontiers on the way to the great goal.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

'CUBANOLOGIST' THEORIES ON CUBA'S REVOLUTION CRITICIZED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 1, Jan 86 pp 9-22

[Article by V.M. Vinogradov and M.P. Maslov: "Socialism in the Western Hemisphere: the Revolution in Cuba and the Ideological Crisis of 'Cubanology' in the USA"]

[Text] The Cuban revolution vividly confirmed the general laws of socialist revolution and the construction of socialism. It struck a very strong blow against bourgeois ideology by overturning and scattering in the wind the myths about geographic fatalism and the inapplicability of Marxism-Leninism to Latin America.

For this reason it is no accident that the history of the Cuban revolution is on the front line of the struggle of ideas which is taking place in today's world. Cubanology--is a new direction in bourgeois social science; it has joined the struggle against the Island of Freedom with the same persistence which Sovietology has for more than 60 years distorted and falsified the history of Great October.

A wide range of methods for distorting the history of the revolution in Cuba is utilized in this struggle: from attempts to contrast it with proletarian revolutions and to absolutize national features in the implementation of Leninist principles in the Cuban revolution to the attempt to portray it as a purely nationalist movement which rejects the Marxist-Leninist teaching about the class struggle.¹

Among the diverse concepts utilized by the American Cubanologists to substantiate the "exceptional" and accidental nature of the socialist revolution in Cuba, the predominant versions are those in which the role of the key factor in the explanation is assigned to U.S. Cuban policy and the evolution of Cuban-American relations.² Further, we are by no means talking about recognition of the complete dependence of the economic and political structure of prerevolutionary Cuba on American imperialism, which would be quite valid; instead, we are talking only about that approach to the history of the Cuban revolution in which those relations prove to be decisive when the processes of the maturation and development of the revolution are examined. In essence, the supporters of this approach attempt to prove that the

revolutionary process in Cuba and its highest phase--socialist revolution--were not an objective, expected result of historical development, but rather were prompted by the lack of understanding on the part of U.S. right-wing groups of the true nature of the revolutionary changes in Cuba. This kind of exaggeration of the significance of the "external factor" is completely explainable. For Cubanologists, who deny the laws of historical development, the examination of the Cuban revolution through the prism of U.S. policy mistakes becomes a way of finding at least some kind of connecting thread for analysis of the revolution, which for them takes the form of an endless labyrinth of events and a chaotic accumulation of various kinds of factors.

Some American political scientists think that a correct understanding of the entire complex of conflicts between the USA and revolutionary Cuba, which prompted the breakdown of Cuban-American relations and which they identify as the primary factor in the revolution, is impossible without a preliminary evaluation of the role of the USA in the history of Cuba. On this question there are, generally speaking, two approaches: the "traditionalist" and the "revisionist," which have substantial differences as well as certain points in common.

The theoretical credo of the "traditionalists" denies the dependence of U.S. policy on the interests of American monopolistic capital in Cuba and obviously idealizes this policy. They attempt to portray it as a combination of U.S. national interests and the aspirations of the Cuban people. In this regard, various kinds of humanitarian motives, which obviously hide the economic subtext, are put forward. For example, L. Langley and D. Steward declare that liberal values are the main "dynamic force" of U.S. policy in Cuba.³ A logical consequence of this kind of interpretation of the history of Cuban-American relations is, for example, the assertion by T. Perkins that Cuba was not a U.S. colony and that imperialism cannot exist without a colony. Moreover, the idea of empire, according to T. Perkins, was entirely alien to U.S. political culture because a devotion to self government played a basic role in that culture.⁴ In essence, T. Perkins enters into an argument with the Leninist theory of imperialism by trying to prove that it reflects propaganda considerations rather than reality. Incidentally, V.I. Lenin noted that economic annexation as one of the forms of imperialist policy is constantly encountered without political annexation of territory.⁵ In his concrete analysis of the history of Cuba, V.I. Lenin noted that this country became the first victim of the aggressive imperialist wars which marked the beginning of the new epoch of world history.⁶

The denial of the theory of imperialism in the concepts of the Cubanologists who represent this tendency is closely linked with their attempts to portray in an apologetic light the neocolonialist methods of exploitation which the USA used in Cuba. Further, the American monopolies which turned Cuba into a neocolony are extolled as the main moving force in the country's economic development, a force which supposedly contributed to the modernization of the economy and to an improvement in the living standard of the Cuban people.

The general conclusion which follows from these constructions is that prerevolutionary Cuba, despite certain defects in its socio-economic development was a country with a middle-level of development and one of the

highest rates of consumption in Latin America, a country in which any objective reasons for anti-imperialist actions and social revolution were lacking.⁷ It is not surprising that the "traditionalists" do not portray the revolution as the result of antagonisms, which were characteristic of the type of dependent capitalism existing in Cuba and which were brought to an extreme level of acuteness by the entire system of U.S. imperialist domination; instead they see it as the result of a certain anomaly in Cuba's political development, as was the Batista dictatorship. For example, L. Langley thinks that the struggle begun by Fidel Castro in 1953 was not a revolution against American imperialism; its main aim was the restoration of the parliamentary form of rule within the framework of the 1940 constitution.

As a rule, the "traditionalists" explain the anti-imperialist trend of the Cuban revolution as merely the result of Fidel Castro's "pathological anti-Americanism."⁹ In making use of such conclusions the "traditionalists" ignore even the arguments of certain historians from their own environment who recognize anti-imperialism as the basic ideological force of the Cuban revolution.

Some American Cubanologists, who proved capable of looking more realistically at the history of Cuban-American relations, have subjected the postulates of the "traditionalists" to re-examination. The "revisionists" have relied on the works of such historians as L. Janks and Ch. Chapmen, who as long ago as the 20's condemned--from liberal-critical positions--Cuba's economic and political enslavement by American imperialism¹⁰. The "revisionists" have come to the conclusion that after 1902 the country became in essence an economic colony and political protectorate of the USA. In their works they use a great deal of statistical material to show how American monopolistic capital--in conjunction with the Cuban land-financial oligarchy and the Comprador bourgeoisie--blocked economic progress, while entrenching the Latifundist system and intensifying the social conflicts of Cuban society.¹¹ Based on these premises, the "revisionists" recognize that Cuba provided favorable, fertile soil for nationalism and radicalism which, in their opinion, provided the main impulse for the development of the anti-imperialist process.

However, in the arguments of those who adhere to the utilization of finer mechanisms for the support of American domination in Latin America, such concepts as nationalism and the national-liberation, anti-imperialist movement proved to be absolutely identical. On the premise that the "26th of July Movement," led by Fidel Castro, genetically derives its origin from the party of the Cuban people (the Orthodoxes), which was active under slogans about the struggle for Cuba's economic and political independence, they try to present the ideological platform of the "26th of July Movement" as a variety of traditional nationalism.¹² Moreover, the ideological evolution of the leftist revolutionary-democratic wing of the "26th of July Movement" was completely ignored; as it well known, in the course of the revolution it shifted to positions of scientific socialism. It saw that the anti-imperialist struggle would be successful if it was combined with profound social, anticapitalist transformations and the unleashing of a mass movement.

The polemics between the "traditionalists" and the "revisionists" received a logical conclusion in the concept of the so-called communist conspiracy, created in the early 60's. In the opinion of the concept's authors, the revolution was victorious because of the incorrect tactics of the liberal diplomats from the U.S. State Department, who did not see in the anti-Batista struggle the actions of "secret communists," "who skilfully masked their views."

The first creators of the myth about the "communist conspiracy," N. Weyl, D. James, R. Phillips, E. Stein, W. Kintner and G. Kornfeder, depended on evidence derived from fleeing Batista supporters, on secret police archives taken from the country,¹³ as well as on a book by the overthrown dictator, "Cuba Betrayed," which came out in 1962; in the book Batista complained that the USA had interfered with his efforts to preserve democracy in Cuba.¹⁴ The scenario of excess U.S. "liberalism" with regard to Cuba received the most detailed substantiation in the works of M. Lazo, E. Smith, former U.S. ambassador to Cuba, and P. Bethel, former press attache at the American Embassy in Cuba. According to their claims, the professional diplomats were misled by the liberal American press, which described F. Castro as a democrat, a nationalist and an anticommunist,¹⁵ and on the basis of false premises, they undertook a number of actions which led to the fall of the Batista regime and cleared away the path to power for the rebels.¹⁶ The following arguments are cited as proof of this. In the first place, the U.S. embargo on arms shipments to the Batista army in March 1958 supposedly helped to undermine the military and political bases of the pro-American regime. "In the resulting political vacuum," writes M. Lazo, "F. Castro was literally catapulted to power."¹⁷ And, in the second place, these authors assure us that the State Department directly opened up the way for F. Castro to gain power by blocking all attempts by the democratic opposition to create a government of the "third force" in Cuba, a government without Batista or F. Castro.

These interpretations turn out to be in obvious disagreement with the historical facts. The USA continued to extend military and financial assistance to the rotten dictatorship even after the arms embargo. "The events of 1958," emphasizes the Soviet historian E.A. Larin, "show that the State Department farce with the cancellation of arms shipments to Batista was nothing other than an attempt to mislead Latin American public opinion."¹⁸ The Batista dictatorship collapsed under the blows of the rebel army, which relied on a the mass revolutionary movement for support. As for the government of the "third force," Marxist historiography has shown quite convincingly that in the course of the revolution the opposition bourgeois parties suffered a complete ideological and political failure; they lost their influence over the masses once and for all, and for this reason they were not able to prevent the genuinely revolutionary forces from coming to power.¹⁹

In Search of New Arguments

The supporters of the "communist conspiracy" idea show a desire, which is characteristic of other branches of Cubanology as well, to substitute the mistakes of American policy in Cuba for the basic content of the Cuban revolution. The groundlessness of this approach has even aroused the

dissatisfaction of Cubanologists. For example, T. Draper, who by no means sympathizes with the Cuban revolution, was forced to recognize the naivete and the extreme simplicity of the interpretation which describes the revolution as a "communist conspiracy."²⁰

The authors who represent the so-called liberal opposition in Cubanology (H. Matthews, R. Scheer and M. Zetilin) approached the interpretation of the Cuban revolution and the "role" of U.S. policy in it from somewhat different positions.²¹ This direction was formulated under the direct influence of Kennedy's idea of a "peaceful, orderly revolution." He spoke about the necessity of liberal-reformist methods to resolve the continent's problems for stabilization of U.S. hegemony over the Western hemisphere. The main feature of this approach was the denial of the conservatives' conjectures about the liberalism of American policy. H. Matthews, M. Zetilin and R. Scheer provide convincing evidence that White House policy during the revolution, as well as in the preceding period, was characterized by a reliance on conservative social forces, the defence of big business interests and the desire to prevent revolutionary changes. In the opinion of H. Matthews, the main error of U.S. policy at this stage was its inability to correctly size up the situation in Cuba, to stop supporting Batista and to recognize Castro.²² It is not surprising that such a policy sowed the seeds of future conflict long before the revolutionary government came to power, as M. Zetlin and R. Scheer claim, and made the Cuban leaders apprehensive about the possibility of U.S. intervention in Cuba following the example of Guatemala.²³

In addition, these authors saw in the revolutionary events in Cuba a democratic, nationalistic revolution, typical of Latin America and carried out by petty bourgeois radicals. They consider that the agrarian reform and other social transformations of the revolutionary government in 1959, which marked the start of the transformation of the socio-economic structure of Cuban society, could have taken the form of traditional bourgeois-reformist policy given the normal flow of events. But what interrupted this "normal" flow and led Cuba onto the path which leads to socialism? H. Matthews states that the radicalization of the revolution was a direct response to Washington's hostility and irreconcilable opposition to the revolutionary transformations in Cuba. The author claims that if the USA had reacted to the expropriation and nationalization as tolerantly and restrainedly as de Gaulle reacted to the nationalization in Algeria under Ben Bella, F. Castro would not have ended up in the communists' camp.²⁴ Thus it follows from this concept that there was nothing inevitable in the victory of the socialist revolution in Cuba because if the ruling circles of the USA had shown greater wisdom and foresight, Cuba would have remained in the sphere of American domination.

The denial of the objective and subjective preconditions of the socialist revolution in Cuba by substituting for them an external factor has received the fullest theoretical treatment in the work of M. Halperin.²⁵ He criticizes those Cubanologists for whom the 17 May 1959 law on the first agrarian reform was a turning point on the path to socialism, and of those who viewed the nationalization of all private enterprises in late 1960 as evidence of Cuba's complete break with capitalism and its turn toward socialism. In essence, he agrees with the position taken by the French economist M. Gutelman, who

thinks that the collectivization of the means of production in the leading branches of the economy still does not mean a transition to socialism. And for this reason it is completely possible that the Cuban revolution could have moved toward a certain form of state capitalism of the Egyptian or Mali type.²⁶ M. Hamperin, who shares this viewpoint, tries to prove that if the U.S. administration had shown foresight and not "pushed F. Castro away" he might have remained a Nasser-type of leader in Cuba and in Latin America.²⁷

He explains the transformation of Cuba's socio-economic and political structure and Fidel Castro's declaration of the socialist nature of the revolution on the eve of the intervention by American mercenaries at Playa Giron as the desire of the Cuban leadership to push the USSR to recognize Cuba as a "member of the socialist club" and to strengthen its resolve to defend Cuba from U.S. aggression.²⁸

Marxist historiography does not deny the fact that the policy of American imperialism with regard to the Cuban revolution and certain aspects of Cuban-American relations played a definite role in the revolutionary process in Cuba, contributing to the radicalization of its content. However, the entire question consists of the significance given to these factors in the explanation of the decisive and crucial periods of the revolution.

As the Cuban revolution developed and its ideological influence grew, the views of the liberal Cubanologists noticeably evolved to the right. They began to view elements of realism (the recognition of the White House's hostility toward the Cuban revolution and the Cuban government's desire for peaceful dialog) as unsubstantiated "concessions" of Marxist historiography and subversion of U.S. authority.

The trend toward the justification of Washington's Cuban policy and the distortion of revolutionary Cuba's foreign policy received its fullest expression in the works of G. Dreier, L. Mecham and H.. Riston.²⁹ In the outline which they constructed for the development of relations between the USA and Cuba after the victory of the revolution, the policy of the superpower was portrayed as peaceful, loyal and tolerant. Without bothering about the evidence they claimed that the USA frequently expressed a willingness to grant financial assistance to the revolutionary government of Cuba and recognized its right to agrarian reform and expropriation of foreign property under conditions of fair compensation. In reply to this, according to their version, F. Castro consciously attempted to worsen relations with the USA in order to ensure for himself support and sympathy, "to create an image of a steadfast leader of a small country," as L. Mecham asserts, "who openly challenged the world's greatest power."³⁰ For this purpose the Cuban government supposedly unleashed an anti-American campaign, changed the structure of its foreign trade, significantly increased imports from the USSR and other socialist countries and expropriated the property of American citizens. In the face of Cuba's provocative policy, L. Mecham claims, the USA adopted a policy of waiting it out, because it supposedly, "was committed to a policy of non-interference."³¹

L. Meham and H. Riston present President D. Eisenhower's decision to reduce the Cuban sugar quota, which was taken on 6 July 1960, as well as other acts of economic and political aggression by the USA against the Island of Freedom, as defensive, retaliatory measures which were, furthermore, far from adequate to Cuba's "aggressive" actions. Moreover, these authors explain the development of the Cuban revolution and the transition from democratic transformations to socialist ones by factors related totally to business conditions. Without hesitating to juggle facts, they try to justify Washington's attempts to strangle the Cuban revolution by the threat to U.S. national security as a consequence of the "Soviet penetration" in Cuba.

In reality, however, Cuba's revolutionary government proposed to the U.S. immediately after the victory of the revolution an improvement in relations based on principles of equal rights and mutual respect. Fidel Castro and other leaders of the Cuban revolution frequently presented proposals to the U.S. government about starting negotiations to settle disputed questions concerning the interests of North American businessmen.

The documents testify incontrovertibly that plans to overturn the revolutionary government in Cuba began to be developed in Washington even before the first decrees announcing the start of the profound socio-economic transformations were published and long before the restoration of Cuban-Soviet diplomatic relations. Several weeks after Castro entered Havana, Eisenhower admitted, discussions began within the government on measures which could be effective in eliminating Castro.³² And after the adoption of the 17 May 1959 agrarian reform law, which expropriated the land holdings of American corporations, the struggle against the Cuban revolution became the main goal of U.S. Latin American policy. Some anticommunist senators made speeches in Congress in which they used the "Monroe Doctrine" and stereotypical cliches about the communist threat to the Western hemisphere to justify the need for intervention in Cuba.³³ The American monopolies, against whose interests a crushing blow was struck in the course of the first radical transformations, became the leader in U.S. imperialism's "crusade."

Even in the first year after the revolution U.S. aggressiveness with regard to Cuba was so obvious that some American political scientists could not ignore it. Cole Blasier, for example, notes that the CIA started to recruit counterrevolutionary emigres for the struggle against the Cuban revolution as early as December 1959, while the official decision of the Eisenhower administration to arm and train Cuban emigres for the Cuban incursion was adopted in the second half of 1960.³⁴ "When the United States understood that the revolution would not retreat or give way to its pressure," the 1st Congress of the Cuban Communist Party noted, "it began a series of economic aggressions along with the recruiting of mercenaries, whom they trained especially to carry out acts of sabotage and military actions."³⁵

Certain authors enter into obvious conflict with these facts and ignore the class essence of U.S. foreign policy when they declare that the main reason for Washington's transition to a "harsh policy" with regard to the Cuban revolution lay in Cuba's supposed attempts to export revolution to other Latin

American countries. Others see it in the neutrality of Cuba's foreign policy, which represented a threat to the inter-American system. And, finally, a third group tried to justify the anti-Cuban policy with the aid of a slanderous version of the USSR's desire to disturb the global balance of forces to its own benefit by establishing control over Cuba.

With all the diversity of these approaches one tendency is noticeable: the desire to exclude the Cuban revolution from the general context of the revolutionary struggle of the Latin American peoples against U.S. imperialism.

One More Approach

R. Smith and L. Langley, the authors of the concept of "mutual hostility," claimed to make a dispassionate, "balanced" judgment of Cuban-American relations. ³⁶ These Cubanologists tried to transfer the explanation for the nature of these relations into the sphere of the psychology of the leaders of the Cuban revolution and the ruling circles of the USA. For this reason the motives which were the basis for the adoption of any given decisions on which the direction in the development of the revolution and the state of Cuban-American relations depended are interpreted by R. Smith and L. Langley within the framework of such categories as fear, suspicion, mutual distrust, etc. "Mutual suspicions," writes R. Smith, "gave rise to a spiral of antagonism between the USA and Cuba."³⁷ In the conflict which had begun with the USA, F. Castro started to seek the protection of the Soviet Union, and this predetermined Cuba's choice of the socialist path of development--such is the conclusion from R. Smith's and L. Langley's simple arguments. Thus, these authors, too, despite their declared adherence to objectivity, do not go beyond the framework of the tendency, which dominated American Cubanology in the 60's to "lock" the entire subject matter of the Cuban revolution into processes which describe Cuban-American relations.

While attempting to compensate for the oversimplified nature of their interpretations of the Cuban revolution the political scientists of the so-called "new generation," began to utilize widely the methods of systems and structural-functional analysis. However, the invariability of the ideological-methodological premises of bourgeois science excluded the possibility of applying a systems approach for a truly objective study of the history of the Cuban revolution. In the final analysis, these "innovations" turned out to be the "multifactor theory," through the prism of which the Cuban revolution began to be viewed as the result of the interweaving and interaction of economic, social, political, psychological and other factors, which are declared to be equally important for understanding the Cuban phenomenon.

At the same time the new currents contributed to a certain measure to the weakening of the role of "external" determinism and in the explanation of the revolution. Certain internal aspects of the revolutionary process in Cuba began to fall within the Cubanologists' field of vision. However, purely psychological factors, which lie outside any class or social conditions, were given priority over an analysis of the struggle of classes and political parties, or the discovery of objective and subjective preconditions of the

revolution, etc. Approaches developed by American political science on the basis of an analysis of the bourgeois revolution in the USA took the place of objective necessity and historical law. This kind of interpretation of the reasons for the development of the Cuban revolution flows logically from an incorrect understanding about its moving forces. While speculating in arguments about why Cuba had favorable conditions for the spread of nationalism, they are trying to reduce the entire revolutionary struggle to its splash. Moreover, there is conscious reference to the anticommunist sentiments of the masses and the conflicts between the "26th of July Movement" and the communists.

In fact, under the concrete conditions of Cuba in the 50's, when the Communist Party was forced underground and found itself to a significant degree in isolation, the best opportunities for uniting around itself a majority of the Cuban people and of leading them into a struggle against the pro-imperialist dictatorial regime belonged to a revolutionary-democratic organization, which based itself on Cuban national-liberation traditions and ideals. "I was a passionate communist," said Fidel Castro, but formally I was not a member of the party...Why had I made this decision? Because anticommunism ruled the country, the people were confused and the Communist Party was very isolated. In other words, at that time the Communist Party did not have an objective opportunity to lead a revolution in Cuba. I thought that if we were successful in getting the broad masses behind us, then, without talking about communism, it would be possible to gain power. But I thought that a revolutionary program was essential. Its end purpose had to be socialism. For me all this was absolutely clear." ³⁸

The program of the "26th of July Movement" was also created under the decisive influence of a proletarian world view: the foundations of this program were set out by Fidel Castro in a famous speech at the trial of those who participated in the storming of the Moncada. Although this program was not socialist, it contained demands, the full implementation of which created the objective preconditions for a transition to socialism. One of the unique features of the Cuban revolution, which bourgeois Cubanologists cannot and do not want to realize, is that the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat and its hegemony in the revolution found their representation not only through the tested Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class but also through the political line and program of the group of revolutionaries who did not belong organizationally to the Communist Party, but who led a revolutionary-democratic organization.

In their attempts to present the desired as the actual, the Cubanologists extract from the entire spectrum of the class and political forces which made the revolution the working class and the Popular Socialist Party, which expressed its ideology.³⁹ As a result of an obviously biased analysis of the nature of the moving forces of the Cuban revolution, it turns out that some noncommunist leftist party, representing nationalistic petty bourgeois circles, took power in Cuba in 1959 rather than the working class in alliance with the peasantry and the radical strata of the petty bourgeoisie, or even a bloc of revolutionary organizations which exercised the political leadership of the revolution.⁴⁰

This approach ignores the role of the rebel army in the rout of the puppet regime's military machine; the mass revolutionary movement of the working class, the peasantry and the middle urban strata; as well as the significance of the bloc of revolutionary organizations consisting of the Popular Socialist Party, the "26th of July Movement" and the "13th of March Revolutionary Directorate" as the political vanguard of the revolution.

In this regard, a completely false interpretation is given to such "anomalies" (from the viewpoint of the Cubanologists) of the Cuban revolution as the merging of the "26th of July Movement," the "13th of March Revolutionary Directorate" and the Popular Socialist Party into a single Marxist-Leninist Party. For example, J. Suchlicki explains this by saying that the communists had close ties with the USSR and were able to serve as a bridge for Cuban-Soviet rapprochement.⁴¹

In fact, the cooperation and combat interaction between the rebel army and the People's Socialist Party, despite certain tactical disagreements between them in the initial period of the struggle against the dictatorship, developed before the victory of the revolution. The Cuban communists exerted a significant influence on the ideological evolution of revolutionary democracy. "The patient educational work, as well as the experience and example of the communists, who began their activities in the glorious days of Balino and Melli under the influence of the victorious October Revolution," the materials of the 1st Congress of the Cuban Communist Party emphasize, "contributed to the spread of Marxist-Leninist thought in such a way that it turned into an attractive and indisputable teaching for many young people in whom political consciousness had awakened...The task which faced the new revolutionaries was to interpret and apply that teaching on the basis of the specific, concrete conditions of our country. This had to become the cause of the new communists because they were not yet known and because they had not yet experienced in our society--where prejudices and control on the part of the political forces of imperialism ruled--the extreme isolation and severe persecutions which fell to the lot of the glorious revolutionary fighters of our first communist party."⁴²

An important objective precondition for the unification of the working class party and the revolutionary-democratic organizations was that the group of new communists, as they call them in Cuba, headed by Fidel Castro, became the center of attraction for all the revolutionary, antidictatorial forces; they fought not only for anti-imperialist and general-democratic purposes, but also expressed the anticapitalistic aspirations of the working class. It "expressed as well the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution, which resulted in the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the people, under the guiding role of the working class; under the leadership of those same revolutionary leaders this gradually grew into the dictatorship of the proletariat."⁴³

It goes without saying that the above-noted tendencies in present-day American Cubanology do not exhaust the entire diversity of the "interpretations" to which the Cubanologists subject the history of the first socialist state in

the Western hemisphere; and in the process they frequently fail to stop at outright falsification.

At the same time they show vividly the groundlessness of bourgeois methodology, which is abstracted from an analysis of formational socio-economic factors in the development of society. This "congenital defect" of Cubanology is related to another defect which is typical of the way American political scientists in general study revolutions. For example, when analyzing the first American revolution, bourgeois scholars do not see it as a class movement; they see it primarily as a nationalistic movement, determined to no small degree by psychological factors. One should include with this the cliches of "exclusivity" and the "obvious predestination" of the USA; they are typical of American political scientists. And it is precisely this kind of vision which prevails in their methodology in the study of other revolutions, including the Cuban revolution. However, this kind of approach is completely unsuitable for a truly scientific interpretation of the first socialist revolution in Latin America.

In contrast with Cubanology, Marxist historiography presents the Cuban revolution as a by-no-means accidental episode or "unnatural phenomenon," which goes against the entire logic of Cuba's historical development as a result of miscalculations in U.S. policy; it sees it rather as an objective historical process. Its historic inevitability was determined by the exacerbation of all the social antagonisms characteristic of the capitalist system and by the laws of social development in the present age.

FOOTNOTES

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3. L.D. Langley. "The Cuban Policy of the United States: A Brief History." New York, 1968, p 186; D. Steward. "Money, Marines and Mission: Recent U.S.--Latin American Policy." Boston, 1980, p X.
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5. See V.I. Lenin. "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 30, p 95.
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7. T. Draper. "Castro's Revolution: Myths and Realities." London, 1962; T. Draper. "Castroism. Theory and Practice...";
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13. N. Weyl. "Red Star Over Cuba. The Russian Assault on the Western Hemisphere." New York, 1960; D. James. "Cuba. The First Soviet Satellite in the Americas." New York, 1961; R.H. Phillips. "The Cuban Dilemma." New York, 1962; E. Stein. "Cuba, Castro and Communism." New York, 1962; W. Kintner, J. Kornfeder. "The Cuban Dilemma." New York, 1962.
14. F. Batista. "Cuba Betrayed." New York, 1962.
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40. W.R. Duncan. "Nationalism in Cuban Politics.--Cuba, Castro and Revolution." Miami, 1972, p 40; E. Gonzales. Op. cit., p 67.

41. J. Suchlicki. Op cit., p 182.

42. "I syezd Kommunisticheskoy partii Kuby..." [1st Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba], pp 31, 32.

43. B.S. Popov. "Uniqueness and General Patterns in the Cuban Revolution" in the book "XX let Kubinskoy revoloyutsii" [Twenty Years of the Cuban Revolution]. Moscow, 1978, p 46.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

HAVANA CONFERENCE DISCUSSES LATIN AMERICA'S 'DEBT CRISIS'

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 1, Jan 86 pp 32-44

[Article by V.N. Lunin, LATINSKAYA AMERIKA's Havana correspondent: "Foreign Debt Through the Prism of Continental Dialog"]

[Text] "A neutron bomb," is what many Latin Americans so picturesquely and justifiably call the continent's \$365 billion debt. In fact, the by themselves the interest payments on the foreign debt, which amount to something on the order of \$40 billion per year, mean not only the de-financing of the economies of the Latin American countries but also a sharp reduction in social expenditures, the freezing of wages and unprecedented growth in unemployment. On average throughout the region every one of the 390 million Latin Americans owes \$923; moreover, the army of the unemployed and semi-unemployed amounts to 110 million people, and 70 percent of the population lives below the poverty line.

The catastrophic situation in the region became the object of multi-faceted, serious and worried discussion at the international conference entitled "The Foreign Debt of Latin America and the Caribbean in the Context of the International Economic Crisis. The Urgent Need for a New International Economic Order," which took place in the capital of socialist Cuba from 30 July through 3 August 1985. This conference was correctly called a continental dialog. More than 1,400 representatives of various social groups and political forces from 37 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean gathered in the capital's Palace of Congresses: they included communists and social democrats, liberals and conservatives, believers and atheists, entrepreneurs and manual workers, office workers and housewives...

The Havana conference evoked a widespread response throughout the world, and especially in Latin America. The participation of broad social and political forces in the conference showed the real opportunities for joint actions on a number of key problems which are troubling the continent. The significance of the meeting consisted primarily in the fact that it opened the eyes of broad strata of the Latin American community to the true state of affairs in the region. And the ideas which the masses have come to understand are becoming a force capable of exerting a definite influence on the official course of the Latin America states. As Rodrigo Borja, leader of the Left Democratic Party

of Ecuador, stated, the Havana forum should increase the masses' awareness of the importance of the new international economic order; it should drown out the "perfidious voices" which propose a bilateral approach to the settle of the current extraordinary situation and to raise up those governments who crawl on their knees before the banker-creditors." Of course, the diverse social and political affiliations of the participants in the dialog resulted in certain differences in approach and judgement. However, in the course of the conference itself opportunities for coordinated concrete actions began to be realized.

In their speeches the participants in the continental dialog devoted a great deal of attention to the proposals put forward by Fidel Castro in February-July 1985.¹ Among the reasons for the "debt crisis" F. Castro names the unequal trade turnover, the unprecedented increase in interest rates, the artificial overvaluation of the dollar, the growth of protectionism in the developed capitalist countries, etc. The introduction of the NIEO principles should contribute to the elimination of precisely these negative phenomena in international economic relations. According to the deep conviction of Cuba's leader, this can be carried out only on the basis of unified action by all the developing states, including those in Latin America.

In general, two groups of reasons for the crisis situation were revealed at the Havana conference: external and internal. Moreover, many speakers did not make this division; instead, they noted the mutual complementariness of the reasons, while assigning a decisive role to specific reasons depending on their own political position. It is significant that the "debt crisis" is increasingly viewed in a broader international context, and that the inter-relationships among the economic problems of the developing countries, the political situation in the world and the claims of American imperialism to world domination are emphasized. "Reagan's warring policy," stated Rodney Arismendi, first secretary of the Uruguayan Communist Party Central Committee, "if it were not a bloody Utopia, which puts the existence of mankind in danger, would resemble the actions of Xerxes, the Persian king who started to thrash the sea with a stick because it had ruined his ships."

1. For more detail see "Foreign Debt and Cuba's Proposal" (A "Round "Round Table" in Havana) in this issue of the journal, pp 45-56.

In their analysis of the external factors the orators proceeded mainly from the premise that the Latin American countries and the developing countries in general have unequal rights and are exploited by the world capitalist system. At the cost of backwardness and stagnation in their development they are taking the main brunt of the crisis; it arose primarily in the centers but manifests itself with particular strength at the periphery, which lacks the necessary mechanism of adaptation. As the former prime minister of Peru, Jorje Fernandez Maldonado, noted: "Latin America's lack of development is to an enormous degree the byproduct of the capitalist development of the Western world." The following figures indicate the open theft of "third world" countries: the developed capitalist countries with a population of 693 million account for 64 percent of the total world income, while the "periphery," whose population exceeds 2 billion people, accounts for only 17 percent.

The conference participants noted that the crisis does not consist only of the problem of foreign indebtedness, which is the "the most graphic indicator of economic dependence, financial robbery and political interference." The discussion concerns a new phase in the re-organization of the entire capitalist system at the expense of its periphery, it also concerns the transition of centers to a completely different technological level which requires a colossal concentration of financial resources. In this context the excessive indebtedness of Latin America and of the entire "third world" is not the previous financial dependence, but a completely new phenomenon, which not only amounts at the minimum to economic dependence, but also to a sharply narrowing range of political independence. It was also noted that the centers of capitalism are stepping up the process of a new division of labor within the framework of the capitalist system, but the hopes of a number of the more developed "third world" countries to occupy a "place under the sun" will quickly be dashed, like a mirage in the desert.

The multinational corporations (MNC) and multinational banks (MNB) play a leading role in this process. As Luis Ignacio da Silva, chairman of the Party of the Working People (Brazil) stated, "the third world war has already begun, a war without shots, but no less harsh for that. In this war, which is devastating Brazil, Latin America and practically the entire "third world," children are dying instead of soldiers, instead of the wounded there are millions of unemployed, instead of destroyed bridges there are stilled factories, closed schools and hospitals... This is a war of all the major capitalist powers against their own periphery, against the entire Latin American continent and the "third world," a war which is being conducted by means of foreign debt, where the main weapons are not rockets but interest rates, weapons which are more lethal than an atom bomb, more destructive than a laser ray. Behind all this is the IMF, a "supra-state organ", which imposes on the Latin American countries "stabilization programs," in order to prevent the multi-billion dollar flow from the region from stopping and in this way to eliminate anything which threatens the completion of the process of the "multinational re-division" of the capitalist world. From this viewpoint it is not difficult to see the true roots of the unequal trade turnover, the growing protectionist practices, the rising "price" of the dollar, the growth of discount rates and the corresponding rates for credits. According to the calculations of the Chilean scholar, Jacobo Shatan, the rise in the interest rate from 6 to 10 percent in 1977-1978 led to a additional outflow from Latin America of \$78.5 billion. The total amount of the payments is much greater if one takes into account the years when the interest rates reached 20 percent. J. Shatan also noted that world prices for raw material items, which make up the bulk of exports from the Latin American countries, fell in 1980-1982 by 10 percent, in 1983 by 15 percent and in 1984 by more than 20 percent, and at the present time by 30 percent. Losses for this category alone have totaled approximately \$38 billion since 1980.

Even more impressive figures characterize the flight of capital from the region. According to the most modest calculations, no less than \$130 billion has gone to the developed capitalist countries, and especially to private banks in the USA from Latin America in the last 10 years as a result of the rise in interest rates. Liber Sereni, leader of the Broad Front Coalition of

Uruguay, noted that at the present time the U.S. banks hold \$160 billion in the personal accounts of Latin Americans. It is difficult to calculate the actual flow because the banks carefully hide this data, guaranteeing the "secrecy of depositors." Nonetheless, according to a report by the Center for the Study of the National Economy, which is sponsored by the United Socialist Party of Mexico, \$30 billion was transferred from that country alone in the period from 1980 through 1984. Thus, the developmentally backward countries in recent years have been turned into exporters of capital--a phenomenon which is completely absurd from the viewpoint of the logic of historical development.

It is no accident that this process coincided in time with the presidency of Reagan, who issued a call to organize a "Crusade" not only against socialism but also against the national-liberation movement. As Fidel Castro noted in his closing remarks at the conference, in 1984 alone Latin America lost more than \$70 billion, of which \$20 billion was due to the unequal trade turnover, \$10 billion was due to the flight of capital, \$37.3 billion was due to interest and \$4-5 billion was due to the rise in the cost of the dollar. Moreover, new incomings from abroad in the form of capital investments and loans amounted to only \$10 billion.

It is precisely this kind of "order" that imperialism has imposed on its periphery. While possessing real economic power within the framework of the capitalist system, the centers not only torpedoed the practical realization of the UN-adopted Declaration of the Establishment of the NIEO and the Charter of Economic Rights and Obligations of States, they were also able to direct to their own advantage the trend toward higher oil prices, which was positive for a number of developing countries. Having thrown into the gap their shock tandem of the MNC and MNB, the imperialist powers adapted to the new market conditions. Subsequently they turned back the flow of the "petro-dollars," which migrated to the Western banks and were quickly turned again into pure gold loans and credits to the developing countries. Even the oil exporting countries, which had intended to use the "petrodollars" to overcome the barrier of poor development, could not withstand such a crushing "somersault." The outwardly impressive industrial growth in some of these countries was by no means a qualitative spurt. For this reason, despite their hopes to "outlast hard times," these countries faced the same fate as their "third world" partners which, as they say, had laid down their arms: the hard times are just beginning for the "new industrial states."

The foreign debt, which grew like a snowball, began to generate a crisis in the economic structures of the countries in the "second echelon of development." As Rodney Arismendi emphasized, this crisis is one of the basic instruments of imperialist enslavement and dependence. One can arrive at this conclusion by analyzing the evaluations heard at the conference of the historical moment being experienced by Latin America. The burden of foreign debt has become unbearable. Brazil, for example, which owed creditors \$105 billion, is forced to pay out every year about \$12 billion, which amounts to about 36.5 percent of export earnings, at a time when the country has 8 million fully and 12 million partially unemployed people. The transition to civil forms of rule did not change the situation. Mexico is experiencing no

fewer difficulties. It is paradoxical but a fact that if the situation does not change, in the course of 10 years the country will pay out \$120 billion, and its foreign debt will remain at the former level of about \$100 billion. And after all, the annual payments for interest (\$12 billion) are equivalent to the cost of 480 million barrels of oil. Every four years Mexico loses on this item alone income from the sale of a quantity of oil which the international monopolies extracted from the Mexican earth in 1901-1938, i.e., until nationalization of the deposits. At the present time more than 80 percent of the oil which is exported by Pemex, the state company, is predestined for payment of interest on the debt.

The group of the largest Latin American debtors includes Argentina, whose debt amounts to about \$50 billion, and servicing it annually swallows up 50 percent of the income from exports. At first glance, the situation in Venezuela is more hopeful. Debt servicing takes up 25 percent of export earnings, but the presence of major currency reserves (more than \$12 billion) has made it possible for the country to refuse the services of the IMF during the conduct of negotiations with creditors on the restructuring of the debt. However, this is only one side of the coin. From 1978 through 1984 the flight of capital from the country reached \$35 billion, i.e., it reached the level of its foreign debt. As Moisez Moleiro, general secretary of the Left Revolutionary Movement of Venezuela, noted, the country's dependence on oil exports is now no less than it was 26 years ago, during the rule of the dictator Perez Jimenez. All these years Venezuela has run in place: agrarian reform has not been carried out, and industry, with the exception of the oil industry, has not received any noticeable development.

As for Chile, the Pinochet dictatorship has now brought the country to the brink of catastrophe. In the last 12 years the country's foreign debt has increased more than 5-fold--from \$4 billion to more than \$20 billion, which exceeds the value of the GNP. The annual deductions for debt obligations amount to about 50 percent of the value of Chilean exports. Moreover, as representatives of the opposition emphasize, the loan funds were utilized to expand the repressive apparatus, to buy military equipment, to construct concentration camps and finally, to acquire luxury goods for the elite.

However, the absolute figures do not always reveal the true picture. For example, Haiti's state debt (\$800 million) seems small in comparison with other countries in the region, but one should take into account the facts that the country has 2 doctors per 10,000 residents, 80 percent of the population is illiterate, 73 percent of the children and 50 percent of the adults suffer from hunger. It is no accident that people who have the social consequences of the debt problem in mind claim that the Latin American countries are starting down the path of "Haitianization": in many of these countries not only is unemployment growing rapidly, but real wages are also falling (in some countries they have dropped to the level of the mid-60's), the mortality curve is climbing upwards and the average life expectancy is falling.

Under these conditions even some civilian governments are shifting to punitive measures, while trying to suppress the just protest of the masses, as was done, for example, in the Dominican Republic. Moreover, the question of the

"reconquista" of the military has not been finally removed. In other words, the fall of the dictatorships does not mean the final victory of the democratization process, and the participants in the Havana forum issued a warning about this. Much depends on whether a solution will be found to the economic crisis, whose "center of gravity" is the foreign debt.

It was noted at the conference that the "balance of fear" regarding the unforeseen consequences of a collective moratorium on the payment of the debt moves the leaders of a number of Latin American countries which are trying to "share the responsibility" for the situation which has developed. However, today's reality presents the countries of the region with a choice: either fight with everything they have for the establishment of the NIEO or fall into greater dependence on imperialism. At the conference Homero Hernandez, deputy permanent secretary of (LAEC) the Latin American Economic Council, said: "We cannot delude ourselves with the illusion that this debt will be paid through the internal efforts of each country, through a program of maximum limitations and Spartan measures which, in the final analysis, result for our peoples in the increasing hunger, in deprivation and suffering."

The situation which has developed dictates the need for the unification of all forces which are interested in the future of their countries. As Sergio Ramirez Mercado, member of the Governing Council of Nicaragua, said: "...the foreign debt is one of the forms of aggression against the countries of the continent, and those countries which decide to take sovereign positions on this question can become the object of economic as well as military sanctions by the USA. For this reason continent-wide actions are essential for the resolution of the foreign debt problem."

Imperialism is attempting to gain the upper hand over the forces of the national liberation movement. As a rule it keeps the application of military force in reserve as a "Sword of Damocles," while giving top priority to the strength of its "shock" troops in their financial detachments--the MNC's and MNB's, which are supported by the International Monetary Fund. In the social area they are attempting to "Haitianize" Latin America; in the economic sphere they are trying to "Taiwanize," in the political sphere to "Puertoricanize" and in the end to deny the means for independent economic development and to paralyze the political will.

Although the times of imperialist arbitrariness and dictate are retreating into history, the danger for the countries of this region remains. They can be too deeply drawn into the process governed by the MNC's and MNB's before the official circles decide to break out of the "vicious circle" of foreign indebtedness and other fetters of dependence. The Havana conference had great significance as a detonator of public opinion; it mobilized the various political and social forces for a joint search for a way out of this extraordinary situation. And, in fact, the discussion already concerns not deadlines for payments, the level of interest rates or commissions, etc. but the lives of millions and millions of people.

At the conference a call to strengthen unity was heard once again. The so-called "bilateral approach" to the settlement of the debt problem was subjected to criticism as were naive individual utterances to the effect that

the situation supposedly will resolve itself, just as crises "have been overcome" in the past. In the latter case, it was emphasized at the conference, the fate of Latin America will be decided beyond its borders and not to its advantage.

The Havana forum took note of the ineffectiveness of the efforts by the "Cartagena Group" which declared noble intentions, but which did not achieve in practice the unity of all Latin American countries and which did not proceed to decisive actions. One of the speakers said that to move the MNB's and the leaders of the Western powers to pity was the same as "entering into a love affair with a corpse."

Various alternatives for a radical solution to the foreign debt problem were proposed--from annulment to an indefinite moratorium, to an immediate halt to payments. Further, the need for collective action was emphasized. In their joint statement the conference representatives from Brazil noted that the solidarity of the Latin American countries and of the entire "third world" will make it possible to "organize protection against reprisals from creditors and the international organizations who are at their service."

It is typical that the settlement of the foreign debt problem is viewed not as a goal in itself but rather as the first step on the path to the creation of the optimal conditions for the development of the "third world" countries and for the resolution of acute social problems. The implementation of a number of concrete measures would contribute to the achievement of this goal; they include the adoption of stabilization programs shared with the developed capitalist countries; the gradual transition from national currencies to a common "supra-governmental" calculating unit (the SDR [expansion unknown] for example); the creation of special funds, specifically as part of the IMF, to compensate for losses due to fluctuations in the discount rate; the removal by the developed West of protectionist barriers; the reciprocal exchange of information about the flight of capital; the return of the latter; the resolution of the problem of unequal trade turnover, etc.

The Mexican economist K. Diaz Duran, proposed a detailed program of reform for the international currency-financial system: in his opinion the main purpose should be the acceleration of development in the "third world" countries based on the adoption of a new code of commercial financing and the creation of an international bank, whose capital would be formed from dues paid by the developed states and would be equal in amount to the volume of the developing countries' foreign debt, as well as from funds which are at the disposal of the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which would be abolished. A new international financial institute should possess full powers to regulate liquidity and to grant both short-term as well as long-term loans. In other words, it must become an effective organ to coordinate international credit and financial policy. It is time to put an end to the practice of manipulating liquid means in the interests of the MNB's and the dictates of a minority: after all, over the course of many years seven developed capitalist states have in fact determined the financial "weather" in the capitalist world. To implement this program K. Diaz Duran proposed that at the next session of the UN General Assembly a

special secretariat should be established within the framework of the "Group of 77," which would call for an international financial conference in early 1986. An international central bank is supposed to be formed at the conference, and before its founding a general moratorium on debt payments is supposed to be announced beginning in September 1985. In addition, ideas for creating an organization of debtor countries, a coordinating center and a "debtors' club," etc. were put forward.

Taking into account the fact that Latin America, which is taking the entire burden of the crisis, exceeds other regions of the developing world in terms of economic development, and, consequently, possesses greater opportunities for intra-regional economic cooperation, many of the forum participants pointed to the need to infuse the integration processes on the continent with new meaning. Once again calls for the creation of a Latin American common market were heard, and in the political sphere there were calls for an organization of Latin American states. The formation of a payment alliance for the region's countries could become an important step on the path of regional economic integration. The priority spheres for integration are food production, energy resources, mineral raw materials and technology. Even now the economies in a number of states (Brazil and Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela, the Caribbean countries, etc.) complement each other in certain sectors, and this creates the necessary basis for the development of the integration process. The future goal of integration, in the opinion of many speakers, should be the achievement of full political and economic unity among all the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean.

It is important to note that when the participants in the continental dialog proposed any given alternatives for solving the problem of foreign indebtedness, they emphasized the need for profound internal transformations, which would make it possible to put an end to dependence and to create the conditions for genuine development. On the other hand, it is impossible to carry out plans for the reconstruction of the credit-finance system of capitalism, no matter how reasonable the conclusions which guided their authors, if there is no real shift toward practical joint action by the Latin American countries and the entire "third world."

A conference of Latin American heads of states and governments could become the starting point in the development of a continent-wide strategy to find a way out of the crisis position. However, this idea has been slow to find acceptance because many political leaders have still not entirely freed themselves of the illusions related to the "stabilization programs." At the Havana conference there was active support for measures announced by the new president of Peru, Alan Garcia, on 28 July 1985 which called for rejecting the IMF's intermediary services and the "stabilization programs" imposed by the fund, limiting payments to 10 percent of export earnings and reducing military expenditures.

As was indicated in the course of the meeting, such measures, although they do not resolve the problem in general, signify an important practical step forward and a rejection of political suicide. The Peruvian delegates' declaration of support for the measures of A. Garcia's government was a

concrete manifestation of the opportunity to achieve national unity, in this case in Peru. It is significant that this document was read at the conference by the chairman of Unity of the Leftist Forces (the second most important political force in Peru), Alfonso Barrantez. He said: "We will not be able to achieve genuine universal consciousness of the need for revolutionary changes if we do not show in practice that we are in a state to forge unity, beginning with our own ranks."

We would emphasize once again that the Havana conference became a powerful impulse to solidarity among the various political forces. A concrete expression of this growing tendency could be seen in the joint statements made by a number of national delegations (or by a majority of delegates) from Bolivia, Panama, Mexico, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Peru and Paraguay on the achievement of consensus with regard to the foreign debt. In addition, representatives of trade union, peasant and women's organizations, which held their own individual conferences before the general meeting, addressed statements to the forum participants requesting support for actions in defence of national interests. In this regard the joint statement by the military who participated in the forum (both retired and on active service) should also be considered an important step. The declaration which they signed contains a "fraternal call to the armed forces of our countries to show decisive support for their peoples in the defence of national sovereignty on the issue of the foreign debt."

There is no doubt that too little time has passed to judge the results of the struggle against the "debt noose." However, the facts indicate a high level of radicalization of public opinion in the region. It is sufficient to point out, for example, that church representatives and Marxists have come closer together in respect to joint practical actions. As the priest from Jamaica, Earl Gordon, said in Havana: "There cannot be peace without justice, for this reason it is absolutely essential for us Christians to joint with the communists, the revolutionary democrats and with all democratic movements in the struggle for the transformation of financial structures..., which dehumanize the essence of mankind, and for the transformation of Latin America and Caribbean into a truly humane region."

In his concluding speech Fidel Castro fully supported the crisis resolution program which was contained in the message sent out in his name by the archbishop of Sao Paulo, Cardinal Arns. Based on the social doctrine of the church, he formulated five fundamental principles:

- 1) The peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean cannot take upon themselves the responsibility for the colossal foreign debt, the repayments for which include enormous amounts of interest and undermine the opportunities for development;
- 2) The problem of the foreign debt is primarily a political one, because we are talking not about the accounts of international creditors but about the lives of millions of people who cannot support the yoke of restrictive measures and unemployment, which brings in their wake poverty and hungry death;

3) The holy principle of the observation of human rights obliges all people of good will and all responsible persons to unite in the search for a realistic solution to the foreign debt problem and in the struggle for sovereignty. Governments must be responsible primarily to their peoples, and not to their creditors;

4) The principle of the self-determination of peoples requires that an end be put to the interference of international organizations in the financial affairs of the Latin American countries: it is essential to publish immediately all agreements concluded by governments with these organizations;

5) It is essential to carry out in practice and on an urgent basis the principles of the NIEO, to eliminate the unequal nature of relations between the rich and poor countries, to provide for the inalienable right of the "third world" to determine its own fate without imperialist interference.

Having expressed solidarity with the approach of the Brazilian cardinal, Fidel Castro noted that the need for the economic integration of Latin America should be added and it should be emphasized that the struggle is being waged for the interests of the entire "third world."

Thus the Havana conference became evidence of the bankruptcy of the anticommunist doctrines which Washington has sown among the believers. "Let us cure ourselves of the anti-Christian virus of anticommunism, the tested bacteriological weapon of imperialism," said S. Mendez Arceo, a highly-placed Catholic priest from Mexico as he called on his fellow priests.

How possible is it to achieve these goals? This legitimate question was raised by the forum participants. To a certain degree typical examples from history provided an answer to it. For example, E. Enriquez, former minister in Chile's Popular Unity government reminded people that the formal reason for the start of the struggle for independence by Britain's North American colonies was a decision of the British parliament on a plan for taxation in the discussion of which representatives of the American colonies did not participate. The eminent political figure of Trinidad and Tobago, Professor G. Millet, cited another fact--the U.S. refusal in 1837-1840 to pay debts to England for the same reasons which today are forcing the "third world" countries to take extraordinary measures. Parallels were cited between the present dramatic situation and the situation of the Spanish colonies at the start of the last century, when the peoples of Latin America arose to fight for independence. At that time the international situation in the region was more complex than it is now, because in the struggle against the Spanish crown the patriots could not count on any support from outside. However, times change. Today, stated R. Moje, general secretary of the Communist Party of Ecuador, it is necessary to step up and expand in different directions relations with the states of the socialist alliance, which are our only allies in this just, historic struggle.

The significance of the Havana dialog consists in part in the fact that at the conference the problems of the developing countries were linked with the need for a general improvement in the international climate, for restraint in the

arms race and for the establishment of a spirit of cooperation among states in the world arena. Edgardo Mercado Harin, former prime minister of Peru, emphasized: "We do not want to be soldiers in a cold war, we want to be fighters against poor development, poverty, destitution and marginality, against a policy of domination and hegemonism, for we are convinced that peace and security can be ensured only on a global scale and on the basis of equality, justice and independence, not on a fragile strategic balance of forces."

In the opinion of the participants, the ideological basis for the present stage of the struggle for the second and final independence of Latin America and the Caribbean was formulated during the continental dialog, and it is capable of uniting the broadest strata of the population in the continent's countries. This basis or, more accurately, this doctrine is well known under the name "philosophy of the foreign debt," and in the interpretation of the Catholic church "theology of the foreign debt" by analogy with the "theology of liberation."

As Fidel Castro emphasized, the purpose of the Havana forum was not to adopt a summary document, but to develop a general understanding of the danger hanging over the continent. And this goal was achieved. In the opinion of many, and in particular A. Sule, the vice president of the Socialist International, the meeting "revived the internationalist spirit of the Panama Congress." The peoples of Latin America, having come to believe in their own power, the power of unity, are raising a voice in defence of national independence and against the predatory policy of imperialism.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

ROUNDTABLE ON LATIN AMERICAN DEBT HELD IN HAVANA

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 1, Jan 86 pp 45-46

[Unsigned Article: "Foreign Debt and Cuba's Proposals (A 'Round Table' in Havana)"]

[Excerpt] The problem of the developing countries' foreign debt has become one of the most acute economic and political problems of the present era. The total amount of the debt has reached nearly \$1 trillion, of which Latin America accounts for \$365 billion. In 1985 alone the developing countries had to pay out more than \$140 billion, of which \$80 billion was for interest. This situation is the consequence of the neocolonialist exploitation of the developing world by the West, and of the latter's policy aimed at whipping up the arms race and at maintaining artificially inflated interest rates and the exchange rate of the dollar.

There exist various approaches to this problem and various proposals to settle it, ranging from financial-technical proposals to radical political ones. Among them Cuba's initiatives, which have become the subject of heated discussion within the framework of the entire world community, have a special place. The essence of the Cuban proposals, to put it briefly, amounts to a cancellation of the foreign debt, the establishment of a new international economic order (NIEO) and the expansion of economic integration among the developing countries, and the Latin American ones in particular.

The struggle for the NIEO, Fidel Castro emphasizes, is inseparable from the struggle for peace and the struggle against the threat of nuclear war. And in this regard, there is a particular attraction to Cuba's proposal to compensate the banks (in the event the foreign debt of the developing countries is cancelled) with funds which could be freed up by reducing the military expenditures of the imperialist states, especially the USA. In this way two very important goals which nations face are combined into one: the preservation of peace on the earth and the acceleration of the process of national liberation and social progress in the developing world.

The Cuban proposals were discussed at a "round table" in the Havana office of the journal LATINSKAYA AMERIKA. The following eminent scholars and journalists took place in the exchange of opinions: Luis Suarez Salazar, director of the

Center for American Studies (CEA); Oswaldo Martinez, candidate of economic sciences and director of the Center for the Study of the World Economy; Jose Luis Rodriguez, candidate of economic sciences and deputy director of this same center; Jesus Hernandez, a CEA researcher; Juan Marrero, head of the international department of GRANMA; Luis Arce, his deputy, and Elena Diaz, candidate of economic sciences and instructor at Havana University.

We offer our readers an abridged version of the discussion which took place.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL'S ROLE IN LATIN AMERICA EXAMINED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 1, Jan 86 pp 135-139

[Article by V.V. Razuwayev: Western Political Science on the Activities of the Socialist International]

[Text] It has become common for Western specialists to address themselves to an analysis of the policy of Western European social democracy in Latin America. A broad range of ideological approaches characterizes the conclusions of their works: from a leftist radical approach, which in a number of cases links up with "neo-Marxism" to an openly rightist approach, whose adherents are oriented primarily toward the interests of U.S. foreign policy.

In Western political science there is a commonly-held opinion that up to the mid-70's Western European social democracy was not sufficiently active in Latin America; it acted cautiously, which was explained by the recognition of this region as a U.S. "sphere of influence." By the middle of the past decade the situation had changed sharply. Social democracy began a real "offensive" in Latin America and quickly won positions in the region.

There are two basic viewpoints on the dating of the starting point for the new policy. M. Levi (France) and K.L. Hubener (FRG) think that it was the Geneva Congress of the Socialist International in 1976, at which W. Brandt was chosen chairman of the organization.¹ T. Evers (FRG) and a number of other authors think that this event took place a little later, after the conference of the Western European and Latin American social democratic parties in Caracas in that same year.² In our view the position of the first group of authors is more correct. As long ago as the early 70's W. Brandt cast doubt on the relative correctness of the Socialist International's doctrinal approach to contacts with the developing countries. In the middle of the decade he, along with a group of influential social democrats, carried out a re-organization of the principles of social-reformism policy toward these states. At first the new policy was oriented mainly toward Africa, where the Socialist International had not been able to achieve significant success. But the situation in Latin America was developing differently. On this subject M. Soares, the leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party, wrote: "Of course, one can argue whether it is permissible to export to other continents, to Africa for

example, that type of democratic society for which we stand. As for Latin America, I am convinced that the hour of its democratization has struck."⁴

But the question of the goals of Western Europe's social democracy in Latin America remains a most controversial one. Particularly heated debates were aroused by the assertion of G. Petras (USA) that the reformists of the Old World were acting in the interests of the monopolistic capital in their own countries. The supporters of this thesis were few.⁵ The left-radical researchers criticized it with no less vigor than the rightists and the centerists. For example, K. Meshkat (FRG) emphasized that social democracy's "offensive" in Latin America took place by no means in those countries in which Western European, and especially West German capital, were attempting to strengthen their positions: the latter essentially contributed to the strengthening of repressive regimes in South American states. The social democratic parties of Western Europe, on the contrary, attempt to contribute to the democratization of this region. Meshkat's viewpoint on this problem amounts to the position that support for the revolutionary process and democratization in Latin America is a part of the Socialist International's general global strategy, which must show the entire world that the FRG and Western Europe in general are conducting a policy independent of the USA.⁶

In accordance with the official Socialist International position, an evaluation of its activities cannot be reduced to merely the expansion of its influence or to the organizational strengthening of local social democratic parties. The main trend in its work is the dissemination of the ideas of "democratic socialism" for the unification of "all democratic forces" on the basis of those ideas. Certain representatives of the social-democratic parties have expressed a different opinion. For example, K. Gershman (USA) claims that the Socialist International has concluded an alliance with anti-American liberation movements in the developing countries. However Hubener thinks that both opinions are only partly correct; they do not reflect the entire complexity of the situation in the Socialist International.⁷

The authors of the rightist current approach the question of the goals of West European social democracy from obviously pro-American positions. In the opinion of K.A. Montaner (Spain), social democracy wants to weaken U.S. influence in Latin America at a time when Washington is "vitally" interested in preserving its authority to the south of the Rio Grande, while the strategy which Washington is carrying out could supposedly be appropriate to protect the interests of the Latin American states.⁸

An answer to the question of the Socialist International's goals in Latin America can be given only as part of a comprehensive evaluation of the situation. At the level of the global confrontation of the two social systems, the policy of social democracy is aimed against strengthening the positions of real socialism. It is in precisely this context, it seems, that it is necessary to view the contacts of the social democratic parties of Western Europe with the revolutionary movement of Central America. Social democracy is attempting to prevent a situation like the one which developed in the late 50's and early 60's, when, in the opinion of the social democratic strategists, an ill-considered U.S. policy "pushed" Cuba into the camp of

socialism. Today they fear that such a prospect awaits Nicaragua because of Washington's aggressive actions.

At the level of confrontation within the framework of the capitalist system, the course of social democracy is determined by the political-economic interests of Western Europe. While extending broad support to related organizations in Latin America, the Western European social democratic parties in this way create the preconditions for bringing the continent's countries closer to Western Europe. In this regard their activities objectively reflect intra-imperialist rivalry, and they are one of the reasons for the crisis of U.S. hegemony in the Western hemisphere.

At the party level the course of Western European social democracy is determined primarily by the desire to create in Latin America the basis for the universal dissemination of the ideas of "democratic socialism," to carry out the transition from "social-democratic Western Europe" to a "social-democratic world." Finally, one must not underestimate the sincere desire on the part of the social democratic movement to help by means of concrete actions of solidarity the democratic development of the Latin American countries and to contribute to the realization of the principles of "political freedom" and "social justice."

The representatives of the Socialist International claim that "democratic socialism," which is applied with consideration for the national features of the Latin American and Caribbean countries, is an alternative to exploitation, hunger and oppression in this region,⁹ that only it can open the way to "genuine" changes in society. The correctness of these assertions is called into question by some researchers. E. Mujal-Leon, for example, thinks that the Latin American members of the Socialist International are oriented not so much to ideological as to political rapprochement with the Western European social democrats.¹⁰ Montaner has expressed a similar opinion.¹¹ Petras thinks that the Latin American political parties which have aligned themselves with the Socialist International do not by any means share the principles of "democratic socialism."¹² Evers has stated the assumption that for the traditional parties of a populist nature Western European social democracy represents an acceptable screen for their cooperation with multi-national capital.¹³ Marini has emphasized that the ideological doctrines of present-day social democracy are so diffuse that it is difficult to say anything definite about its influence on Latin American political circles.¹⁴

The viewpoint of F. Williams (Mexico) differs radically from the positions of other researchers: he thinks that Latin American populist parties and the Western European social democratic parties take the same ideological positions in principle.¹⁵ This opinion seems to be the most accurate. In the ideological concepts of the Western European and Latin American members of the Socialist International, the proportion of elements from working-class and bourgeois reformism is approximately the same, and it was like that before the obvious rapprochement of these two branches of social democracy. The fact that 17 Latin American parties joined the Socialist International more because

of pragmatic than ideological considerations does not make it possible, however, to cast doubt on the significant closeness of the theoretical positions of the social democrats of both continents.

Extreme caution in regard to prognoses is a general feature of nearly the entire group of works examined. In those cases in which the authors made an attempt to look into the future they came to the conclusion that a continuation of the present trends in the development in international relations will in all probability lead to a conflict between Western European social democracy and the USA due to the Central American region.

For example, Mujal-Leon, having emphasized that the United States and the social democratic parties of Western Europe are pursuing common goals in Latin America--the strengthening of democratic institutions, noted at the same time the possibility of serious conflict between the allies in case of further growth in the activity of social-democracy. To prevent this the American government should, in his opinion, establish direct contacts with the reformists of Western Europe. ¹⁶

The political scientists of the leftist-radical current also point to the probability of conflict between the USA and the social democrats of Western Europe; they think that this kind of situation will become a possibility as a result of Washington's imposition of a new "cold war" policy." Western European social democracy is one of those forces which are not interested in a similar development of events, and the aggressive policy of the current administration, specifically with regard to Latin America, clearly will lead to a confrontation between the "partners-competitors." ¹⁷

The difference of opinions in Non-Marxist historiography on the policy of Western European social democracy in Latin America is determined by the difference in the author's ideological positions, as well as by the complexity of the range of questions being examined. The acute ideological struggle about the problem of the place and the role of social democracy in Latin America reflects the growing aspiration of the Socialist International to exert an influence on the course of political development in this region of the world in order to keep it within the framework of the world capitalist system.

FOOTNOTES

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'LATINAMERICANIZATION' OF MARXISM, LENINISM CRITICIZED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 2, Feb 86 pp 5-16

[Article by A.F. Shulgovskiy: "Fundamental Questions of the Ideological Struggle"]

[Excerpts] The new edition of the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union states that the inhumane ideology of present-day capitalism inflicts increasing harm on people's spiritual world. The cult of individualism and permissiveness, as well as malicious anticommunism and the exploitation of culture as a source of profit lead to the decline of spirituality and the moral degradation of society. The degree of cynicism and moral irresponsibility reached by the adherents of this cult can be judged by the utterances of the reactionary Argentine publicist Mariano Grondona. He claims that any struggle by the Latin American peoples against U.S. domination, is inevitably doomed to failure. It is essential, Grondona preaches, to follow the example of those slaves of ancient Rome who bought their freedom with patient labor and humble behavior rather than to imitate those who, like Spartacus, challenged Roman power and were crucified on the cross. Moreover, Grondona is literally choked with ecstasy when he writes about the American way of life, which "in only one place on the earth" and "once in history" has given rise to the idea of individualism as the "engine of progress."¹ The countries which have made this principle the cornerstone of their activities, he concludes, are proceeding along the path of development, while those who reject it are doomed to backwardness and vegetation.

Strictly speaking, his arguments for American imperialism amount to a glorification of individualism (he declares it to be identical with "genuine freedom") today. While stating arrogantly that the U.S. way of life can bring good to peoples of the world, right-wing American ideologues and political scientists see the main obstacle on the path to this way of life in the politics of "Marxist regimes," which supposedly strive to violate the "natural" course of history, the end goal of which is life for mankind under conditions of an "individualistic Eden." A similar kind of manical vision of the world lies at the heart of explanations for the social and political instability in Central America. They are provided, for example, in a report on the situation in Latin America, prepared with the assistance of the Council on International Problems (located in Pittsburgh); the participating authors

claim that "Marxist regimes" as well as their allies are engaged in "exporting" revolution and the class struggle.²

In the opinion of the neoconservatives, Latin Americans are hampered in their attempts to move closer to the basic norms of the "American way of life" by the persistent influence of Hispanic-Iberian traditions, which are characterized by the spirit of paternalism and anti-individualism, and by hostility to the idea of economic growth, which is based on the "free play" of market forces. These traditions are used to explain the adherence to a "strong state" with its developed state sector and the priority given to the latter over "free enterprise," a careless attitude toward "economic rationality" and much else. These traditions are cited as explanations for the nationalistic "Yankee-phobia" which is supposedly characteristic of the Latin American peoples.

In the analysis of the reasons for the region's nonacceptance of the "bourgeois pragmatic way of life" (which in the words of Irving Cristol, one of the ideologues of American neoconservatism, is characterized by the fact that a "majority of the population is engaged in improving its material conditions, relying exclusively on its own efforts"), the particularly emotional nature of the Latin American peoples is cited as an "incontrovertible" argument; this emotionality supposedly hinders them from proceeding at a rapid rate along the path of "progress" and from creating "rational economic systems." They attribute to the Latin Americans "reckless" and "anarchic" actions, contempt for labor and adherence to to "heroic chimera."³

It is not difficult to see that such references to the Hispanic-Iberian traditions are being used to declare as "regressive phenomena" the liberation and anti-imperialist movements, as well as the historically irreversible process of social changes on the continent. In their criticism such of assertions (using the Central American situation as an example), Walter Lafebre, the well-known American historian and publicist, wrote than an increasing number of the residents in the countries of this subregion "identify capitalism with the barbarous oligarchical-military complex which the USA supports by political and military means. Capitalism, they are convinced, too often threatens the very existence of the majority in the name of defending the interests of the majority."⁴ And Barnes, a prominent figure in the Democratic Party, has emphasized that a realization of the idea of economic growth--widely publicized by the conservatives--leads to an intensification of social inequality.⁵

The sharp non-acceptance of U.S. (and indeed of Western European) state institutions, and of is explained to a significant degree by the fact that many representatives of progressive public opinion in Latin America have adopted positions of Utopian socialism. While rejecting bourgeois civilization, they favor the creation of a "social civilization," i.e., the association of free and equal people, to use the words of S. Rodriguez, the teacher and friend of Bolivar.⁶

It is important to note another extremely substantial feature of Latin American Utopian socialism--the profound feeling of participation in the

struggle of the popular masses against social injustice in the Old World. As capitalism developed, giving rise to ever newer social contradictions and antagonisms, this struggle acquired an increasing expressed anti-capitalist direction.

Naturally, the discussion did not concern the "importing" of European "subversive ideas," which is how bourgeois researchers frequently explain the motives for popular social movements. The underlying reasons for the popular demonstrations held in Latin America under slogans of Utopian socialism were related first of all to the region's inclusion in the system of world-wide capitalistic links. Given the rapid development of factory production in Western Europe, the Latin American countries became to an increasing degree the raw material appendages of the industrially developed states; this doomed the masses of working people (craftsmen, peasants) to deprivation and suffering and inevitably led to an extreme exacerbation of social conflicts. The struggle of the popular masses in the region became an increasingly organic part of the world-wide movement for social progress and justice.

The historically natural process of converting socialism from Utopia into science took place in Latin America in a parallel manner. In describing this process with respect to Russia, V.I. Lenin wrote: "Russia truly suffered to achieve Marxism, as the only correct revolutionary theory, with a half-century of unheard of torments and sacrifices, unseen revolutionary heroism, unbelievable energy of selflessness, searching, instruction, practical experience, disappointments, testing and comparison with the experience of Europe."¹² These Leninist words are central to an understanding of the historical fate of the great revolutionary teaching in Latin America.

The ideas of scientific socialism are exerting an ever growing influence on social consciousness in the Latin American countries as they become an important factor in their political culture. According to one of the documents by the Brazilian communists: "The Communist Party constitutes an inalienable part of Brazilian society. It has been in existence for more than six decades already; it functions and exerts a multi-faceted influence, having roots in political, social and cultural life... And no ideological campaigns or police repressions can eliminate the communists from the life of society."

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Communists from other Latin American countries talk with the same feeling of profound belief in the righteousness of their cause. Atos Fava, the general secretary of the Argentine Communist Party CC, in his book "What the Communist Party Represents," which has generated a widespread social resonance, writes about the heroism and self-sacrifice of communists in their struggle for high social ideals, about their indissoluble link with the people. "We never were and never will be in an illegal position," he emphasizes; "the ones in that position have always been those who scorn the interests of the people and try to block the irrepressible course of history."¹⁴

Vivid confirmation of the favorable influence of Marxist ideas on social thought in the Latin American countries can be seen in the works of many scholars, historians, economists, political scientists and sociologists, who

have used Marxist methodology more and more thoroughly and organically. Naturally the manifestations of the increasing influence of Marxism on social thought are not all the same. There are frequent cases in which Marxism is interpreted not as an integral and creative teaching but is utilized instead in the form of individual fragments, which are integrated into non-Marxist theories and concepts. There are attempts to "destroy," if one can put it that way, the living soul of Marxism by means of various Marxological deformations and sophisms.

All these tendencies, along with frontal opposition from anticommunists of all stripes, are manifested in the ideological struggle. As before, the anticommunists are trying to slander a great revolutionary teaching and to prove that it is inapplicable to conditions in the region. In the well-known Santa Fe document, Marxism is declared to be inimical to the peoples of Latin America, to their culture and way of life.

In the struggle against these attacks greater importance is definitely being attached to problems concerning the degree to which Marxist ideas help one to understand Latin American reality and to determine the paths of its revolutionary transformation. As representatives of the progressive leftist forces take into account the complexity and newness of their tasks in the struggle for democracy and social progress, they call for the creative application of Marxist ideas. The problem of a "meeting" (that is precisely the term which the discussion participants frequently use) with Latin America in the final analysis consists for them in the full and effective use of a great revolutionary teaching. It is precisely these sentiments which were expressed by the Chilean publicist Oswaldo Fernandez in particular; he noted that in regard to Latin American reality Marxism should be applied as Lenin applied it to Russia, as Gramsci applied it to Italy, and as Recabarren, Mella and Mariategui applied it Latin America.¹⁵

At the same time another viewpoint which has become common is one which states that Marxism is supposedly in need of "Latinamericanization" because it is not in a position to understand Latin America. It is expounded in its most concentrated form in a work by Carlos Franco, the Peruvian political scientist, "From Euro-centrist Marxism to Latin American Marxism" and in a work by Jose Arico, the Argentine publicist, "Marx and Latin America." ¹⁶ These authors call for a re-examination of "Orthodox" Marxism. They substantiate the need for this with references to the "ineradicable" influence of Hegelianism on Marx, who in working out his philosophy supposedly followed Hegel, according to whom the peoples of the Latin American continent still had not become "historic peoples." Hence the accusation that Marx was "Euro-centrist" and ignored the history of peoples in other regions of the world. This argument is supported by assertions that the emphasis on political economy in Marxist teaching and the inadequate attention given to superstructures do not provide opportunities to understand the historical process in all of its many facets and complexity. Finally, supporters of the "Latinamericanization" of Marxism interpret Marx's teaching as an ordinary theory of modernization, the essence of which is that the less developed countries must repeat in an almost fatal way the path traversed by the developed capitalist powers. Jose Arico claims that in "Das Kapital" Marx

sets out precisely this kind of "teleological" concept of social development. "For this reason," he concludes: 'thoughtfully,' the work which Marx intended as a crushing blow against the bourgeoisie, was in fact turned into a coffee table book of the bourgeoisie in the less developed countries. In other words, this work provided a firm foundation for the idea of the progressive nature of that type of capitalism which was created in Western Europe."¹⁷

The trite and groundless nature of such "arguments" are visible to the naked eye. Even Marx himself, as if he had a presentiment that assertions of this kind would become the "trump card" of his opponents, wrote to the editor of "OTECHESTVENNIYE ZAPISKI" entering into a debate with the ideologue of the narodnik movement, N.K. Mikhaylovskiy: "It is absolutely necessary for him to turn my historical outline of the emergence of capitalism in Western Europe into a historical-philosophical theory about the general path which all peoples are fatally doomed to follow, no matter what the historical conditions in which they find themselves, in order to arrive in the end at that economic formation which ensures, along with the greatest flowering of the productive forces of social labor, the fullest development of the human being. But I beg his forgiveness. This would be at the same time both too flattering and too shameful for me."¹⁸

Marx put forward the most interesting and profound ideas about the position of those countries which were located, so to speak, at the periphery of the capitalist world. It is enough to address oneself to his reflections on the fate of the oppressed Irish people. He viewed their freedom from the colonial yoke as an indispensable condition for the social liberation of the English working people. And Marx had a very constructive hypothesis about the possibility that 19th century Russia could bypass the capitalist stage of development, relying on its communal traditions, given the victory of the proletarian revolutions in Western Europe!

Marx's articles devoted to the British domination of India also have great significance. It is well known that Marx and Engels were enthusiastic in their support for the Indian people and other peoples of the East and that they angrily denounced the brutality of the European colonizers. Finally, it is also well known how severely Marx condemned the intervention by the European powers in Mexico and the sympathy with which he responded to the struggle of the Mexican patriots headed by Benito Juarez. In his studies of new problems and conditions, Marx proved convincingly the effectiveness of the dialectic method, which makes it possible to interpret the most complex problems of world development, and their combination of the general and the specific. It is this kind of approach by Marx to the study of the conditions of various peoples and continents which attracts more and more attention from those who are sincerely interested in the interpretation and transformation of Latin American reality.

The adherents of "Latinamericanization" cannot ignore this. Thus Arico, in citing the above-mentioned works, even talks about Marx's "strategic shift" toward the peripheral peoples, to their history and struggle.¹⁹ But here he draws the following conclusion: in Europe and in Latin America itself there were no forces which could have developed or utilized Marx's ideas from the

"second period" of his life; for this reason only the supporters of the "Latinamericanization" of Marxism can correctly determine what of the Marxist legacy is suitable for Latin America and what is not. Carlos Franco in turn claims that in Latin America it is impossible to apply Marxism to the concrete conditions of the countries; it is essential to constantly "create" it.²⁰ In this way the thesis of the "multiplicity of Marxisms" is declared: grounds are found for the right to create them and for the freedom to engage in all kinds of libertarian speculations about Marxism, which leads to a revision of his theoretical bases and a repetition of the well-known ideas of the bourgeois Marxologists. This can be seen with particular clarity when the discussion begins to concern the reasons for the spread of Marxism in Latin America and results of the activities of the first generation of Latin American Marxists. In essence, adherents of "Latinamericanized" Marxism all resort to playing up the thesis about the supposedly "imported" nature of Marxism, about the indisputable influence of its "Euro-centrist" version on the Latin American Marxists.

The well-known Chilean Marxist scholar Sergio Vuskovich, in objecting to the apologists for "Latinamericanization," noted that the first Marxists in Latin America did not choose between the need "to apply" Marxism and the desire "to create" Marxist theory. They persistently recognized Latin American reality, although the process of recognition was not smooth and easy. For this reason, Vuskovich notes, in Latin America "we were dealing with a very curious phenomenon, exceptionally important from a methodological viewpoint. We are talking about how the consistent application of Marxism inevitably turned into an original 'product of creation.' In other words, Marxism as a 'product' of Latin American creative work became a concrete and vital manifestation of the consistent "application" of Marxism to a new reality."²¹ One can cite many examples which confirm the correctness of this important observation.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution left a deep imprint on the liberation and anti-imperialist movement in the region. And it is from this time that one can talk about the onset of the Marxist-Leninist stage in the development of revolutionary thought in the Latin American countries. The way for it was largely prepared by the work of the first generation of Latin American Marxists. One can say without exaggeration that with the victory of Great October and the rise of the liberation movement in the Latin American countries there began an ever accelerating process by which Marxism-Leninism has been converted into a component and an inalienable part of the social consciousness and spiritual life of the continent.

How do the supporters of the "Latinamericanization" of Marxism interpret this fact? Arico, for example, recognizes that in Latin America Leninism changed in a fundamental way the formulation of the question about the possible victory of socialism in the region. In his words, the question of gaining power by revolutionary means was put on the agenda for the first time. Moreover, he, like other authors who share this viewpoint, states that Leninism exerts an influence on the most varied segments of the liberation movement, thus determining the spiritual and political climate of the Latin American countries. However, the reason for this influence is explained primarily by Leninism's special interest in politics and in the subjective factor, an

interest which impressed everyone who considered the seizure of power to be an urgent matter and not all that difficult.²⁵

It is clear that explanations of this kind are determined by the desire to carry out something of a double revision of the revolutionary teaching. In the first place, Marxism is set against Leninism and is interpreted as a particularly evolutionary theory of modernization within the framework of capitalism. Leninism, however, is declared to be a doctrine about the gaining of power, the essence of which is close to Blanquism. In addition, the "grounds" for this conclusion "are strengthened" by the fact that both Leninism and Marxism are declared to be incapable of understanding the realities of Latin America because they supposedly strive to subordinate the liberation movement to the formulae of the class struggle; these formulae require the creation of communist parties, which, in the opinion of those who support this viewpoint, are alien to Latin American conditions.²⁶

Incidentally, as long ago as the 20's, the first generations of Marxist-Leninists in Latin America struggled in a most decisive manner against assertions of this kind. For example, Jose Carlos Mariategui, the founder of the Peruvian Communist Party, wrote with all clarity and definitiveness: "Capitalism has entered the imperialist stage of its development. This is the capitalism of monopolies, of financial capital, of imperialist wars provoked by the desire to seize markets and raw material sources. The practice of Marxist socialism at the present time is the practice of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is a revolutionary method in the era of imperialism and monopolies."²⁷

Mella, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Cuba, in presenting a criticism of national-reformist concepts, whose adherents stated the inapplicability of Marxist-Leninist ideas to Latin American conditions, frequently emphasized with unwavering confidence in the correctness of his position that Lenin's ideas find their complete confirmation in Latin America. "The very fact that the proletariat created independently and a long time ago its own class parties," he wrote, "provides evidence that all this is logical and expected. And only he who is under the influence of bourgeois ideology can accuse the "Russian Bolsheviks" of creating workers organizations in Latin America."²⁸

And more than half a century later one hears quite persistent appeals to the leftist forces to reject the Leninist legacy. For example, many participants in an academic symposium which took place in the Paris suburb of Chantilly (1982) made an appeal to overcome--both in the area of theory as well as in the practical sphere--the influence of "Marxist-Leninist formulae, "which supposedly are completely inappropriate to the new Latin American reality and to replace "Leninist political culture" with a "new one."²⁹ Participants in a colloquium on the problems of the struggle for democracy in Latin America, which was organized in Spain (1983) by the Pablo Iglesias Fund, also voted to reject the "traditional Leninist political culture" and to adopt a "new one," which corresponds, in their opinion, to conditions of the movement toward socialism on the basis of "democratic consensus."³⁰ Moreover, even a kind of geographical boundary has been drawn, on one side of which the struggle for

democracy should be developed within the framework of "Leninist political culture" (the countries of Central America," and on the other (to the north and to the south) within the framework of "democratic consensus."

There is no question that by itself the formulation of the question on the various paths and forms of the struggle for democracy has great significance. It is quite right and even inevitable to have various viewpoints in the camp of the progressive leftist forces, if these viewpoints are constructive. However, no territorial-geographic approach to this problem, even if it is interpreted metaphorically, is in a position to explain the essence of the matter.

The experience of the revolutionary and liberation movement in Latin America is sufficiently rich and instructive to draw a conclusion about the exceptionally diverse and multi-faceted nature of the ways, forms and methods of the struggle for democracy. The communist parties in the region's countries, while taking a most active part in this struggle, favor the creation of an advanced democracy, which would open up the road to socialism. This, it goes without saying, does not mean an underestimation of the struggle for bourgeois democratic institutions, especially if the discussion concerns the elimination of a fascist counterrevolutionary regime.

The principled position which the communists of the Latin American countries take in relation to those who are trying to "bury" Marxism-Leninism under the flag of "renewing" it acquires particular significance under conditions of the present-day, when the questions of alternatives for future development have become so acute. M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in an interview given immediately after his meeting with U.S. President R. Reagan, described as "banal" the attempts to explain the growth of social tension in the region as reflecting "Moscow's hand," at a time when the most developed Latin American countries are not in a position to pay the interest on their debts. The region joined the world revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement a long time ago; it joined the world-wide struggle concerning the most fundamental problems of the development of civilization. In this struggle the role of the Latin American peoples is constantly growing. And this is to be expected. The inhumane, anti-spiritual tendencies of capitalism are increasingly opposed to the growing liberation potential of the progressive and leftist forces in the region, a potential which opens up prospects for national rebirth. And, naturally, the successful resolution of this most complex task will depend to an enormous degree on whether these forces achieve unity and the ability to constructively and creatively link the humane traditions of Latin America with Marxist methodology for the study of social development.

FOOTNOTES

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

ACTIVITIES OF JAMAICA'S COMMUNIST PARTY PRAISED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian, No 2, Feb 86 pp 37-44

[Article by V.P. Ulasevich: "The Workers Party of Jamaica--the Fighting Vanguard of the Working People"]

[Text] The Workers Party of Jamaica (WPJ), which was founded on 17 December 1978, is one of the youngest detachments of the international communist movement. Its formation and first steps were accomplished during the time when progressive changes were taking place in that country.

In 1972 the government of the Popular National Party (PNP), which looked to the broad masses for support, came to power. In 1974 it declared a policy of building a society of "democratic socialism," having stated its choice of a noncapitalist path of development. The PNP government began to resolve the most urgent problems of the struggle for genuine national liberation, as well as a number of tasks of a democratic nature; it held to a consistent anti-imperialist position in the international arena, while actively participating in the Nonaligned Movement, and it established relations with the socialist countries. Its policy contributed to the improvement and democratization of the domestic political situation and to a certain degree to the weakening of anticommunist prejudices.

Careful work by Marxist study circles preceded the establishment of a Leninist type of party in Jamaica. At the initial stage there were two main tasks: ideological study and determination of the organizational form which the future party should take. The Jamaican communists carried out a demarcation struggle to set themselves apart from other ideological currents. In analyzing the experience of party construction in Jamaica, Trevor Munroe, general secretary of the WPJ, noted: "The study of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism had particular significance for the overcoming of petty bourgeois nationalism, which dominated the anti-imperialist forces in the 60's....Now it was time for the working class (its interests at that time were expressed by the most advanced segment of the intelligentsia) theoretically to clear the field of activity, to uproot the "shoots" of an alien ideology and to sow the seeds of a proletarian world view."¹

At the first stage the very important question of the organizational basis for building a working class party was also being decided. In Jamaica there was an opportunity to struggle for the transformation of the national-democratic Popular National Party into this kind of party. "Its members included people close to the proletariat who shared its ideology," wrote T. Munroe. "There was also a tradition (started as early as the 40's) of work by Marxists within the party. However, the communists, who joined together in the first ideological study circles, considered that although such a course would contribute to the development of the national-liberation movement, it was less promising than the creation of their own party. The subsequent experience showed the correctness of the conclusion which was drawn at that time."²

The members of the circles started by studying Marxism-Leninism, and subsequently began agitation and propaganda work through the theoretical journal SOCIALISM! and the newspaper STRUGGLE; they gradually began to shift to establishing ties with the workers movement, which was organized into trade unions. These circles joined together, and they formed the basis for the emergence (in 1974) of the League for the Liberation of the Workers, the germ of a proletarian party. It continued the work of spreading Marxist-Leninist ideas, and of strengthening ties with trade union, student, youth, women's and other social organizations; it contributed to the strengthening of the anti-imperialist movement and the struggle for the democratic rights and interests of the working people. The League played an appreciable role in the 1975 election campaign, when the internal reaction--in alliance with imperialist circles--used Jamaica to try out methods for "destabilizing" a progressive regime. It came out firmly and decisively on the side of the government of M. Manley (leader of the PNP), calling on working people to vote for the PNP, "for a party, which provides the simple man with more opportunities to fight for his rights and for justice."³

The founding congress of the Workers Party of Jamaica (14-17 December 1978) put forward as the main tasks the questions of party construction, the expansion of the mass base, the strengthening of positions in social organizations and the achievement of unity among the leftist and anti-imperialist forces.

As the result of consistent, goal-oriented work, the party has grown significantly (by 25 percent during just the three-year period which took place between its 2d and 3d congresses⁴). The WPJ consistently implements the Leninist principles of strict selection of its ranks because it sees the party's strength primarily in the solidarity within its ranks, in the devotion to the cause of the communists, and in their high moral qualities, their persistence and willingness to undertake both self-sacrifice and ordinary, everyday work. The network of primary party organizations has been expanded. At the time of the founding congress a majority of the primary party organizations was concentrated in the country's capital of Kingston and the neighboring district of Saint Andrew, but now the party organizations operate in all the districts of the country.⁵

The social composition of the party is changing gradually. Although the proportion of the so-called middle strata and the intelligentsia, which played a role as the conduit for Marxist-Leninist ideas on the island, still remains high, the proportion of workers and of the poorest strata of the population is growing. At the present time representatives of the Jamaican proletariat constitute more than 30 percent of the party members.⁶ It should be noted that party construction within the milieu of the industrial and agricultural workers is related to significant objective difficulties. The Jamaican working class is relatively young and constitutes less than half of the entire hired work force, and its industrial nucleus constitutes only one-fifth of that.⁷ The Jamaican proletariat is characterized by a low level of concentration and the preservation of close ties with small-scale land owning and production.

It is no accident that the 3d WPJ congress (13-16 December 1984) emphasized that the party's central task remains the introduction of class consciousness and organization into the daily struggle of the working people and the strengthening of ties with the masses. The Jamaican communists think that the path to the expansion of the party's mass base lies in the consistent struggle for solutions to the concrete problems which affect the interests of the working people. The WPJ finds new forms of work to achieve this task: it draws its supporters into study classes, which serve to prepare people for party membership, and it creates support groups for the WPJ, which are called on to help the primary cells collect funds, distribute the party newspaper and do other work.⁸

The mass social organizations are the main source of support for the WPJ. Its representatives participate in the work of youth, student and women's organizations and movements, trade union associations and communal councils.

The program of the WPJ and the decisions of the party congresses direct communists toward the struggle for unity among the anti-imperialist and leftist forces, along with the strict preservation and consolidation of the independent role of the working class in the anti-imperialist alliance. "The change in the political balance within the national-liberation movement in favor of the working people," emphasized T. Munroe, "is the guarantee of success for us in present and future battles."⁹

And it is precisely this kind of unity which the upper bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy fear the most. On the even of the WPJ founding congress, the newspaper the JAMAICA DAILY NEWS, which expressed the mood of the democratic community, wrote: "The reaction has always feared that which will soon take place, i.e., the creation of a party of the working class. It knows that the communists' serious and disciplined approach will strengthen the progressive movement in Jamaica. It remembers that the communists were the first to raise the alarm on the subject of the danger hidden in the 'destabilization' tactics to which the CIA resorted. And it is the communists who put forth the greatest efforts to expose Seaga (the leader of the pro-American Labor Party of Jamaica and the current prime minister of the

country--V.U.) and his regime at every step. Moreover, the reactionaries were deeply disillusioned by the fact that the communists concentrated their attention on the question of anti-imperialist unity." ¹⁰

The defeat of the progressive forces and the coming to power of the Labor Party of Jamaica (LPJ) in 1980 signifies an offensive by the reaction. Under these conditions the struggle of the communists for anti-imperialist unity acquires particular timeliness. The WPJ persistently looks for ways to form an alliance with the leftist, democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

The LPJ government acts as a conductor for the "crusade" against communism policy declared by the Reagan administration. Persecution of the progressive forces and direct pressure on the communists have increased in Jamaica. Arrests, searches of party premises, censorship, job discrimination and layoffs, intimidation--that is the range of means used against the communists. The reaction leaves no stone unturned to discredit the WPJ, to present it as a terrorist organization which supposedly contemplates the violent overthrow of the existing order.¹¹ In repulsing such slanderous fabrications, T. Munroe stated that communists fully reject even the very thought that a handful of conspirators could overthrow capitalism. "Capitalism and imperialism can be destroyed," he said, "only if there is unity, consciousness, organization and firmness among the workers themselves." ¹²

Under the present difficult conditions the WPJ is conducting an active struggle against the anti-people, pro-imperialist policy of the Laborites' government, and it consistently exposes the aggressive, neocolonialist course of American imperialism, which serves as the main support of that government. The U.S. administration does not hide the fact that it would like to make Jamaica a model of economic development for the Caribbean countries, a showcase of the "free world" in contrast to socialist Cuba.

The Seaga government bases its policies on the private sector and foreign investment. The orientation towards the United States has opened up access for Jamaica to American government loans, as well as credits from commercial banks and international financial organizations. Seaga had hardly taken over the prime-minister's seat before the International Monetary Fund--obviously at the direction of the U.S. administration and for political purposes-- made a decision to grant Jamaica a loan (unprecedented for such a small country) of \$650 million.¹³ In June 1984 and in August 1985 new IMF loans were granted to this Caribbean state amounting to \$143 and \$120 million respectively.¹⁴ In recent years Jamaica has occupied the number three spot (after Israel and El Salvador) in the list of countries receiving American assistance through channels of the American Agency for International Development.¹⁵ It is also one of the primary recipients of "aid" within the framework of the so-called Reagan initiative. On average for the years 1981-1984 Jamaica received from the IMF, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the donor countries about \$1.1 billion dollars.¹⁶

However, despite the "influx" of these colossal sums the Jamaican economy is in a pitiful state, while the "recovery" programs dictated by the IMF are turning out to be a genuine disaster for the people. The country's foreign

debt, which amounts to \$3.2 billion, has exceeded the value of the gross national product.¹⁷ It is expected that in 1985 up to 57 percent of export earnings will go towards debt reduction.¹⁸ In the processing industry a majority of the factories are operating at only 50 percent of their capacity.¹⁹ Local enterprises, which cannot meet foreign competition, are being ruined. The mining of bauxite, which is the country's main resource, has dropped to the lowest level in the last 20 years.²⁰ Agricultural production is falling steadily. The sugar industry is on the brink of collapse. Prices for basic necessities are climbing rapidly. In subordinating itself to IMF demands, the Laborites' government is looking for a way out of the crisis by devaluing the national currency, by increasing taxes on the incomes of working people, by reducing appropriations for social needs, by letting government employees go and by denationalizing the state sector under the pretext of eliminating the budget deficit.

An increase in social tension is a consequence of the crisis state of the economy. Crime has reached an unprecedented scale. In mid-January 1985 the dissatisfaction of the broad masses with the anti-popular course of the Laborites spilled over into direct confrontation with the government, in disturbances and demonstrations which encompassed Kingston and many regions of the country. Demonstrations by the working people reached a particularly high pitch in June 1985, when a general strike was called by six trade union associations (the last such strike had been held in 1938).

Under these conditions the Laborites have resorted on an ever broader scale to the trampling of even bourgeois-democratic freedoms. In December 1983, two years before its term was up, the LPJ government, while trying to save itself from the parliamentary opposition, proceeded to hold early parliamentary elections (they were boycotted by the communists and the PNP). The communists note that "against a background of the Grenadian events" an atmosphere of hysteria is being fomented and the persecution of any opposition is being unleashed under the pretext of the struggle against crime in the country. In repeating the voices which are heard from Washington, the Seaga government makes slanderous accusations against Cuba, which supposedly "encourages political terrorism" against Jamaica.²¹

Given the domestic political situation which has developed, the WPJ demands the retirement of the government. The WPJ sees the way out of the crisis situation in which the country finds itself in the breaking of the cabal relations with the IMF; in the strengthening of economic independence; in changing the economic structure, which is monocultural in nature; in expanding the state sector; in introducing planning into the economy; and in establishing cooperation with the socialist and developing countries.

The communists continue to work in the trade union movement, defending the right to strike and to conclude collective agreements and protesting against firings and arbitrariness on the part of businessmen. Under the leadership of the communists the trade union of university employees in various branches, which is characterized by militancy and consistency in the defense of the workers' interests, has come to occupy a prominent place in the country's trade union movement.

The WPJ's domestic position is closely linked to the foreign political situation. The communists decisively oppose the aggressive policy of the American administration in the Caribbean and Central America, as well as the increase in the military presence in the region and the inclusion of the young Caribbean states in the sphere of U.S. military preparations. They reveal the true goals of the so-called "regional system of security and defence," a military bloc created in 1982 within the framework of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States; it has the direct support of the USA and England and includes Antigua, Dominica, St. Vincent, Barbados and St. Lucia.²²

The WPJ notes that the basic task of the bloc is to smother the movements for national and social liberation in the region. The Grenadian events proved the correctness of this claim.

The WPJ angrily condemned the participation of the Jamaican government in the Grenadian incursion and the shameful role of an American mercenary, which Seaga in fact took upon himself. As he pays off the credits granted to him, Seaga is obviously trying to play a leading role among the most active supporters and accomplices of Washington's interventionist and adventuristic policy. And it is precisely these goals which are served by the expansion of the military ties between the USA and Jamaica: in 1981-1983 alone military "aid" to the latter grew from \$1.6 million to \$7 million.²³ A further increase--up to \$8.3 billion in military aid--is planned for 1986. Moreover, it is being utilized not only for purely military purposes but also for the reorganization and strengthening of the repressive apparatus, and the police in particular.

In today's tense international situation the Jamaican communists do not limit themselves to a narrowly regional approach to questions of war and peace. WPJ documents emphasize that the global problem of the present--the prevention of nuclear catastrophe--has for the developing states no less significance than for the developed ones, while the position of the developing states plays a far from minimal role in the opposition of the two policies in the international arena. At their 2d Congress the Jamaican communists stated: "We, the members of the Workers Party of Jamaica, are absolutely sure that with full mobilization world imperialism will be restrained through the united and persistent efforts of the progressive forces."²⁴ In fulfillment of the congress decisions, the Jamaican communists were among those who initiated the establishment of the Jamaican Peace Committee, which acts on a broad basis; it sets the following as its goals: to make every resident of the country aware of the need to participate in the struggle to preserve peace, to expose the aggressive essence of imperialism and to publicize the peace-loving course of the socialist states.

The struggle to transform the Caribbean basin into a peace zone, which the Jamaican communists--along with other progressive forces in the region--are calling for is particularly timely today, when the U.S. administration, having carried out naked aggression against Grenada, is expanding the undeclared war against Nicaragua and its open interference in the civil war in El Salvador.

It is also continuing its subversive activity against socialist Cuba, increasing its naval presence in the region and conducting provocative maneuvers, in the course of which the naval blockade of Cuba and Nicaragua is being finished off.

The Jamaican communists think that strengthening the unity of the communist movement and closing the ranks of all the anti-imperialist forces will make a primary contribution to a policy of effectively repelling the aggressive, hegemonistic course of imperialism.²⁵ "We think," noted T. Munroe, "that under the present conditions it is especially important to strengthen the unity of the international communist and workers movement in the struggle against imperialism and the threat of war, in the struggle for peace and social progress."

The work of the Jamaican communists and the active position which they have taken on domestic and international problems have made it possible for T. Munroe, the general secretary of the WPJ, to state that today "communism in Jamaica is not just an idea, it is becoming a serious movement, which enjoys the support ... of thousands of working people, who stand for our cause."²⁶ The creation of the Workers Party of Jamaica serves as one further confirmation of the general nature of Leninism as an international teaching.

FOOTNOTES

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3. "Vote in the Party that Gives the Small Man More Chance to Fight for Rights and Justice, Kingston, 1976.
4. "Report of the Central Committee, Workers' Party of Jamaica to the Third Congress, 13-14 December 1984." Presented by Comrade Trevor Munroe, General Secretary. WPJ. Kingston, December 13, 1984, p 67.
5. Ibidem.
6. Ibid., p 68
7. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 11, 1980, p 38.
8. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 12, 1983, p 35.
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10. JAMAICA DAILY NEWS. Kingston, 11 December 1978.
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13. PRAVDA, 17 May 1981.
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15. QUARTERLY ECONOMIC REVIEW OF WEST INDIES..., No 3, 1983, p 21.
16. "Report of the Central Committee, Workers' Party of Jamaica to the Third Congress..., p 27.
17. STRUGGLE. Kingston, 3 August 1985.
18. QUARTERLY ECONOMIC REVIEW. JAMAICA, BELIZE, BAHAMAS, BERMUDA, No 3, 1985, p 6.
19. QUARTERLY ECONOMIC REVIEW OF WEST INDIES..., No 2, 1984, p 7.
20. QUARTERLY ECONOMIC REVIEW OF WEST INDIES..., No 1, 1984, p19.
21. THE DAILY GLEANER. 13 December 1984.
22. PRAVDA, 4 November 1983. In 1984 these countries were allotted military "aid" in the amount of \$20 million. QUARTERLY ECONOMIC REVIEW OF WEST INDIES..., No 2, 1984, p 11.
Plans to establish official military ties between this bloc and the NATO countries arouse great concern in the progressive public opinion.
23. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 3, 1983, p 69.
24. "Workers' Party of Jamaica. Report of the Central Committee to the Second Congress by Trevor Munroe, General Secretary," December 17, 1981, p 4.
25. Two advisory conferences of communist and workers parties, as well as anti-imperialist organizations of the Caribbean and Central American countries, which took place in 1984 in Georgetown and Havana, were devoted to these questions.
26. "Unite Against Imperialism! Build the Workers' Party." By Trevor Munroe. Kingston, 1979, p 7.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

ORGANIZATIONS, FUNCTIONS OF SANDINIST DEFENSE COMMITTEES

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 2, Feb 86 pp 45-48

[Article by A.P. Strogov: "Committees for the Defense of the Sandinist Revolution"]

[Text] At the present time Nicaragua is experiencing a stage in which the system of the organs of revolutionary power is being formed and consolidated. The Sandinist Defense Committees are one of the important elements of this system, and one which largely defines the uniqueness of the Nicaraguan revolution.

During the entire course of their existence the mass organs for the defense of the revolution have been subjected to crude attacks by the rightist parties, which accuse them of violating rights and freedoms and of "establishing total control" over the population of residential blocks. Such an embittered reaction from the class enemies of the revolution is completely understandable: after all, the Sandinist Defense Committees are at the very center of the revolutionary process in the country; they have become the main "drive belt" between the Sandinist National Liberation Front (SNLF) and the broad popular masses, they have become a school for genuine people's power.

The birthday of these organizations is considered to be 9 September 1978, when the first armed uprising against the half-century Somoza dictatorship began. Through the efforts of the SNLF, women's organizations and progressively inclined church figures, Civil Defense Committees were organized in urban neighborhoods; they were called on to arouse the population to armed struggle and to form a reliable rear for the SNLF fighters. The committees created clandestine apartments; storehouses for weapons, food and medications; underground hospitals; printing presses and secret cover; they carried out agitation work and military training among the population. It was largely thanks to the activities of the Civil Defense Committees that literally every neighborhood of Managua and other cities in the country was turned into an impregnable fortress with meters-long barricades constructed of concrete pavement slabs.

After the victory of the revolution the Civil Defense Committees were reorganized into the Sandinist Defense Committees. The doors of this

organization were and remain open to all Nicaraguans older than 14, regardless of their political and religious views, under the condition that these citizens support the Sandinist revolution. The Sandinist Defense Committees operate under the political leadership of the SNLF, which carries out its leadership role not through directives but through the party members who form a majority in the elected SDC organs. The fundamental element in the system of these people's organs is the Residential Block Committee in the cities or the Village Committee in rural regions; the committee is elected at a general meeting of the residents. The committee usually consists of five members. In addition to a coordinator, it includes a person responsible for social defense (this includes the struggle against crime and counterrevolution, as well as training to repel aggression), a person responsible for the socio-economic sector and a person responsible for public education and propaganda. The coordinators of the grass-roots SDC's elect an executive committee for the city or rural region, and they, in turn, elect zone and district committees, as well as a national executive committee. The SDC coordinators at one level are simultaneously delegates to assemblies, which elect the governing organs at a higher level. At the present stage of the Nicaraguan revolution, elections for the committees are not called at set intervals. In the event that a coordinator, an SDC member or a committee in general is not able to cope with its obligations, or loses the support of the masses, that person or body or committee is subject to re-election. In this case a higher committee calls a general meeting of the block or representatives of the grass roots organizations at which the question of replacing the SDC members is decided by vote. The electoral duties at the level of the block and the rural region are performed on a volunteer basis; the zone, oblast and national committee have staff employees.

In early 1985 the country had 8,000 block, 650 regional, 70 zone and nine district Sandinist Defense Committees operating under the leadership of the national committee, headed by Commandante Leticia Herrera. The committees bring together about 500,000 Nicaraguans.

In the first post-revolutionary years the Sandinist Defense Committees made a significant contribution to the struggle against the legacy of the Somoza regime, including crime, prostitution and drug addiction; at the same time they provided massive support to the internal affairs organs. "Revolutionary vigilance" groups were organized in the blocks: they maintained the security of their blocks, especially at night, detaining unknown persons, who frequently turned out to be law breakers.

An important task of the SDC is to mobilize the masses to gather the harvest of export crops. To this end committee activists conduct regular campaigns among residents, urging them to participate in the harvesting of sugar cane, coffee, etc. Since Nicaragua adopted the Law Concerning Patriotic Military Service in 1982, the SDC's have expanded their role as the organ which keeps track of people due to be called up for military service according to place of residence. The members of the committees carry out a great deal of educational work among the population to ensure that all those due to be called up register on time in the zone divisions of the Sandinist People's Army and fulfill their duty to the Motherland. Another task which falls

within the sphere of these mass organs is the mobilization of the population into reserve infantry battalions, subdivisions of the people's militia, etc.

As a result of the threat of American aggression hanging over Nicaragua the mass organizations devote unflagging attention to civil defense. In late October and early November 1984, when the U.S. administration fanned an artificial crisis around Nicaragua's imaginary acquisition of MIG-21 fighters, the SDC's organized the construction of individual and collective shelters in residential neighborhoods, as well as instruction for residents on correct behavior during air raids and warning signals. Stores of food, water and medicines were established, and an inventory was carried out of all means of transport, including even animal-drawn carts and hand carts. With the aid of the Sandinist People's Army practice sessions were held with mock air raids and street battles, in which the population applied the knowledge it had learned in a near-combat situation.

Because the SDC's in essence fulfill the functions of local self-government organs, the social-economic sphere is an important area of their activity. Since the very first post revolutionary days the committees have carried out food distribution among the residents of their blocks. With the introduction in 1984 of the system of state ration distribution, they have become the basic organ controlling the on-site trade in the most essential goods. At the request of the CSD's, the Ministry of Domestic Commerce concludes agreements with private traders about acquiring for their stores the status of "people's distributors." "People's inspectors" devote careful attention to ensuring that the established prices and rationing norms are maintained. In addition to monitoring the activities of the network for ration distribution, the committees are conducting a decisive struggle against speculation.

One of the acute economic problems which Nicaragua faces is the exodus of the able-bodied population from production into the sphere of small trade and services. In the resolution of this problem the SNLF leadership attributes an important role to the mass revolutionary organs. Speaking at a meeting of SDC representatives, B. Arse, the deputy coordinator of the executive committee of the SNLF national leadership, noted: "The Sandinist Defense Committees must struggle to ensure that many workers in the production sphere who have rushed into trade speculation return to their jobs. Moreover, persuasion must be the primary method to achieve this."¹ Under the auspices of the SDC's cooperatives and food collectives which bring together formerly unemployed people and housewives are being set up in urban areas. These cooperative produce clothing and household objects. The activities of the committees also include the organization of unpaid work days (subbotniki and voskresniki) to build and repair schools, health care institutions, roads and other communal facilities. In this regard, the respective ministries and agencies grant technical assistance and supply the committees with the necessary materials. Aid which comes to Nicaragua from non-governmental organizations in foreign countries is distributed through SDC channels.

In Nicaragua public health care has been declared to be one of the most important tasks of the revolution, and the Sandinist Defense Committees are taking a very active part in this area. They conduct mass vaccination

campaigns against poliomyelitis and other infectious diseases; they organize national health days and spread propaganda for public health norms among the broad masses of the population.

In the public education sphere, the SDC's are playing an enormous role in the success of a nation-wide campaign to eliminate illiteracy. They have organized libraries, a broad network of basic education classes for adults, etc. Also operating under the auspices of the committees are political education circles; their purpose is to explain the political line of the SNLF and the anti-imperialist, national-democratic nature of the Sandinist revolution as part of the study of the theoretical legacy of the Marxist-Leninist classics, and the works of A. Sandino and K. Fonseki.

Leisure activities for the working people also come under the jurisdiction of the committees. Residential blocks are equipped with sports areas, mainly for baseball, the Nicaraguans' favorite sport. SDC music festivals are organized jointly with television; young talents may be discovered at these festivals.

1. BARRICADA, Managua, 15 February 1985

The SDC's are also very active in international affairs: they maintain close ties with mass organizations in the socialist countries, the Alliance of the Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries, with various associations of Latin American states, and many non-governmental organizations. Representatives of the Sandinist Defense Committees were part of the Nicaraguan delegation to the World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow in the summer of 1985.

The Sandinist Defense Committees confront many difficulties. The most important of these is the passivity of some rank-and-file members and leaders, as well as the timidity with which they criticize some employees of the state organizations for their bureaucratism, red tape, etc. The committees have not yet succeeded in gaining full control over the trade sphere or in breaking the back of speculation and the black market, to which a certain portion of the goods designated for rationed distribution continues to find its way. The press frequently carries critical stories about individual committees, which manifest bureaucratism, distance from the masses and other flaws in their work.

The inadequacies in the work of these genuinely revolutionary organs of people's power in Nicaragua arouses a passionately interested reaction from the people. In August 1985 numerous SDC's held assemblies at all levels; at these assemblies a resolution was unanimously adopted concerning the strengthening of ties between these organs and the masses, concerning the direct participation of every citizen in the process of decision making and in the work of his committee. Evidence of the further democratization of the Nicaraguan political system and of the vital strength of the SDC's was seen in the November 1985 official elections to the committees in which the most diverse political parties were able to take part.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

MATERIAL ON LATIN AMERICAN PROLETARIAT IN 8-VOLUME WORK

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 2, Feb 86 pp 131-136

[Article by S.V. Patrushev: "The Struggle of the Latin American Working Class at the Present Stage"]

[Text] The completion of basic research on the problems of the international workers movement, the results of which are reflected in an eight-volume publication,¹ has become an important event in Soviet intellectual and social life. In terms of the breadth of conception and depth of analysis there is nothing comparable to this large-scale research project on the problems of the working class. A large collective of Soviet scholars representing the main USSR Academy of Sciences institutes in the humanities has worked for nearly 15 years on it. The realization of this project undoubtedly will contribute to an increase in research in this area; it will stimulate intensified work on many new subjects and themes, and it will lead to the publication of a whole series of monographs, scientific collections and articles. The publication of every volume of this work has aroused significant interest not only in our country but also abroad, where the first few volumes have already been published in several foreign languages.

In accordance with Marxist-Leninist methodological tradition, the workers movement is presented on the pages of every volume against a background of the development of society in general and in the dialectical unity of the international and national, as the aggregate of all forms of working class activities aimed at the implementation of its world-wide historical mission. Such an approach has made it possible to successfully resolve the basic task of the study, which was (as formulated by Academician B.N. Ponomarev in his introduction to the entire work) to provide a consistent account of the events and problems relating to the development of the working class, using concrete material to show its growing role as a factor which ensures the social progress of humanity (Vol 1, p 8).

The reader of this multi-volume work will find a sufficiently complete and scientifically verified picture of the socio-economic and ideological-political development of the working class, its maturation and confirmation as the leading force of social progress. The geography of the research encompasses nearly all the countries of the world, while its time frame includes several centuries from the 16th to the threshold of the 21st, from the period in which the system of hired labor emerged and the proletariat was

formed up to the present age, when the working class acts as the main moving force in world history and as a powerful factor in the social renewal of the world.

Within the framework of this picture the authors record the development of the Latin American proletariat, which has now become one many detachments of the international working class.² In the 1980's every tenth worker in the non-socialist world and every fifth in the developing countries is Latin American.

The attention given to Latin American subject matter increases from volume to volume; this is directly related to the way in which the development of the continent's proletariat in the real historical process has acquired an ever increasing scale, its ascent up the steps of class maturity has accelerated, and within the national-liberation and revolutionary movement the working class has advanced to a position as the most consistent fighter against imperialism and reaction in Latin America. In the first volume, which is devoted to the period up to 1871, the continent's proletariat, its formation, position and struggle receive only a few pages, while in the second, third and fourth (1871-1923) they receive several sections in chapters, and in the fifth (1924-1945) they receive a separate chapter. Naturally these subjects receive the fullest treatment in the seventh volume, which is entirely devoted to the development of the workers movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the period after the Second World War.³ As a result of this kind of structure, the reader who is interested in Latin American problems receives a unique opportunity to trace the development of the continent's working class within the context of the development of the world proletariat, while specialists will get an idea of the state of research on the Latin American workers movement in Soviet Latin American studies against a background of the treatment of historical problems and theories of the entire international workers movement.

The logic of Marxist research on the working class requires one first of all to clarify "what the proletariat in fact is,"⁴ and to discover its place and role in the society as a product of the "economic relations of its epoch,"⁵ in a word, to trace the process of its formation as a "class in itself," and subsequently to shift to an analysis of it as a factor in the economic and social struggle, to study its conversion into a "class for itself."

An examination of the process by which the proletariat was formed in Latin America, the beginning of which belongs to research into the second half of the 19th century (Volume 1, p 165), makes it possible to discover its distinguishing feature--the time disparity and disjointedness in the ripening of the economic, social and ideological-political preconditions for the formation of the working class here. This was manifested, for example, in the fact that even before the Latin America proletariat was fully separated from the working masses and was far from developed as "class in itself," (the authors date the completion of this process in the continent's largest countries from the period of the First World War [Vol 4, p 419]) it makes early use--under the influence of the Western workers struggle--of the forms of struggle which are characteristic of the more mature phases of the workers movement, and it establishes early on its own occupational and even political

organizations (Vol 2, p 465). On the continent there arose with comparatively speed a noticeable stratum of factory workers, which in the first decades of the 20th century gradually turns into the backbone of the factory proletariat (Vol 3, p 375); Vol 4, p 419).

The dynamic growth in the ranks of the Latin American working class in the 20th century (its numbers increased from 1.5 million to nearly 50 million people in the eight decades, Vol 5, p 522; Vol 7, p 85) has been accompanied by major shifts in its composition and structure, in its reproduction sources, in its skills and education and in its socio-economic position. The most important of these shifts is the conversion of the industrial proletariat into a leading detachment of the working class and the consolidation of its industrial nucleus. In evaluating these changes, the authors conclude that "today the Latin American proletariat in general has come closer than the Afro-Asian proletariat in terms of its basic class characteristics to the working class of the developed capitalist countries" (Vol 7, p 30). These quantitative and qualitative changes create, as the researchers correctly emphasize, a "firm, objective foundation for unleashing a mass workers movement, for strengthening the positions of the class trade unions and proletarian parties in the cities and rural periphery of the developing countries" (Vol 5, pp 569-570).

In tracing the complex developmental path of the workers movement in Latin America, the authors note that it was detached from the general democratic movement around the turn of the century (Vol 1, p 490). The qualitative jump in the proletariat's level of occupational and political organization and in the level of its social activism took place in the period directly following the victory of the October Revolution. It was precisely then that the working class "for the first time entered the arena of political struggle as an independent force capable of combining the defense of its class interests with the struggle for national historical goals" (Vol 4, p 426).

Based on an analysis of a vast body of factual material describing the interwar period, the researchers show that even during the years of world-wide economic crisis the Latin American proletariat acted as a powerful revolutionary force. In individual countries, especially Chile and Cuba, its actions played a deciding role in the struggle against reactionary dictatorships. There is evidence of the increased maturity of the proletariat in the fact that during the course of the class battles it raised itself to such organizational forms as Soviets (in Brazil, Cuba, El Salvador and Chile, Vol 5, p 538). In the prewar period the working class turned into the most powerful and consistent force in the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist struggle (Vol 5, p 550).

The authors also consider the characteristics of the working class position and struggle in the period of attack by imperialism and internal reaction, which took place during the harsh anticommunist terror in a number of the continent's countries in the 40's to the late 50's; they devote a great deal of attention to the development of the workers movement after the victory of the Cuban revolution, which opened up a new stage in the liberation struggle of the continent's peoples. They show the basic features in the movement for social progress and democracy, beginning the middle 60's, when there was a

sharp increase in the opposition between the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces; and, finally, they show the basic features of that movement at the present stage, which began on the threshold of the 80's.

This research emphasizes that the broad scope of the social and political battles, in the center of which stands the proletariat, results from the acuteness of the class struggle, from the degree of politicization, organization and militancy of the working class, which ensure a close and effective link between its struggle and the anti-imperialist actions of the masses. The authors come to the well-founded conclusion that in a number of countries the proletariat has become "the most important force in the anti-imperialist liberation struggle and realistically lays claim to a leading role in that struggle, taking into account both the realization of its tasks as well as its own final goals" (Vol 8, p 31).

A special and extraordinarily important line of research concerns the participation of the proletariat in the revolutionary process. It is treated through the use of material from such historically important events (in terms of the continent) as the revolution in Mexico (1910-1917), the struggle for the implementation of fundamental socio-economic transformations in Guatemala (1944-1954), Bolivia (1952), Chile (1970-1973), and finally, the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions.

In Mexico as early as 1910-1917 the working class acted as one of the moving forces of the revolution and with its struggle it left a deep imprint on the course and results of the revolution, although it was not able to play the role of hegemon. The authors note that this was explained by the low developmental level of the proletariat as a class and by the ideological weakness and immaturity of the workers movement (Vol 3, p 398). It was necessary for the working class to pass through nearly half a century of successes and difficult defeats and to accumulate the experience of revolutionary struggle before it acquired maturity and became a leading force in the revolutions in Cuba and Nicaragua, before it came to lead the struggle to build a new society. In this way it refuted in practice the ideas of bourgeois, reformist and leftist radical researchers about the "non-revolutionary nature" and the "privileged position" of the Latin American proletariat. A critical review of these concepts forms an important component of the work under review (Vol 7, pp 505, 527).

The formation of the political vanguard of the workers movement is a theme which runs through the entire work. The authors describe the conditions and features of the formation and development of the communist parties (Vol 4, pp 420-425, Vol 5, pp 527-531), and they note the large role which the 1929 and 1934 continental conferences of communists played in their theoretical and organizational formation (Vol 5, pp 531-532, 540-541). The young communist parties of Latin America were able to become quite rapidly a key factor in the struggle for the unity of the working class and for the solidarity of the anti-imperialist forces on a revolutionary basis. As early as the 30's they were the main organizers of demonstrations by the proletariat in a number of countries, and they acquired great standing among the masses which, as the

researchers noted, contributed to the rapid growth of the communist movement in subsequent years. In less than a decade (1939-1947) the membership in communist parties grew from 90,000 to 370,000 people (Vol 5, p 694), and in a number of countries they grew into mass organizations.

Significant space in this work is given to the development of the communist movement in recent decades; moreover, the main thrust is correctly put on an analysis of the theoretical activities of the communist parties, i.e., on their treatment of the content of the revolutionary process, its moving forces and the forms and methods of struggle; emphasis is also put on the realization of the political line in the name of achieving unity among all the anti-imperialist, democratic forces and of creating broad united fronts (Vol 7, pp 475-478, 481-484). At the same time the development of the positions taken by the communist parties with regard to trade unions, the peasantry, the middle strata, the army and believers is also shown. Questions related to the active work carried out during the past decade by the Socialist International and a number of parties which are members of it are covered to some extent.

The authors devote a great deal of attention to the study of the trade union movement. Its long history can be traced on the pages of this publication, from the printers' mutual aid societies created in 1853 in Santiago and in Rio de Janeiro, which were the first occupational organizations of workers (Vol 1, p 221) to the formation of national and regional trade associations with many millions of members. The heterogeneity of the working class, the existence of various ideological currents even at the very earliest stages of the movement, the policy of the ruling classes and state--all this gave rise to the split within the ranks of the working class and the trade union movement. The achievement of unity among them is viewed by the researchers as an important condition for the success of the class struggle and the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America (Vol 77, p 459).

In the process of becoming acquainted with this study, as is the case with other works which have come out recently ⁶ (unfortunately their materials have found little reflection in the multi-volume work), one is made aware of the need for a more thorough historical political-economic study of the formation of the hired labor system in Latin America. In this regard a special treatment of the industrial revolution in Latin America is needed; judging by the works of Soviet Orientalists,⁷ its course differed substantially from the course of the industrial revolution in other regions of the developing world. At present, however, these specifics are glossed over in the works of Latin American specialists, as they are, for example, in the publication under review. But without delving into these specifics it is difficult to understand many important aspects of the transition from the manufacturing to the industrial stage of capitalist production and, correspondingly, from that stage to higher stages. And, after all, this relates directly to the study of the proletariat's formational process.

Recently certain new approaches to the study of working class problems in the developing countries have developed.⁸ For example, it would seem to be an important observation that there exists a larger number of forms of hired labor and, consequently, of social types of hired workers, than previously

thought. A study of the present-day working class in Latin America presumes an attentive attitude to the formation of new, productively more mature segments of the proletariat and an explanation of their role in the structure of the Latin American working class in general.⁹ Without this attitude, the question of the social boundaries of the proletariat will continue to be resolved only from the viewpoint of the coming together of certain groups of hired workers and the proletariat, without taking into account the rise in the social status of a number of its groups. We would note, by the way, that the choice of any viewpoint should be extended consistently to qualitative evaluations of the working class as well. This did not take place, for example, during the analysis of its composition and structure in the Latin American countries, which is contained in the seventh volume (not to mention the annoying arithmetical errors in the calculations which are used as the basis for the theoretical conclusions which the authors draw concerning the development, for example, of the agricultural proletariat--Vol 7, pp 83-84, 93-94). In this regard we would also note that for a long time there has been a need to analyze the dynamics of the Latin American proletariat on the basis of a unified approach which is only methodological but also systematic in nature.

The process of the "modernization" of some of the industrial workers of Latin America is related in particular, to the expansion of the multinational corporations; it is accompanied by the emergence of new social relations in industry, one of the manifestations of which is the growing scale of hiring according to collective agreements. This naturally exerts an influence on changes in the role and place of the trade unions in the social structure, which also leads to political consequences. To some degree these and certain other new aspects in the development of the Latin American proletariat in recent decades have manifested themselves, for example, in the emergence of a rather large workers organization in Brazil--the Party of the Working People. Given the uniqueness of this phenomenon in the postwar history of the workers movement on the continent, a description or at least a mention of it could have found its way onto the pages of the seventh volume.

Soviet scholars have recently been quite successful in working on the problems of mass consciousness, including the consciousness of the working class. One of the sections in the sixth volume of this publication (Vol 6, pp 220-242), for example, can serve as confirmation of this. An inadequate study of these questions with regard to the Latin American proletariat is, undoubtedly, an omission by the authors, and, moreover, it all the more substantial because unless it is eliminated, it is difficult to count on further progress in understanding the process by which the Latin American proletariat is being converted from a "class in itself" to a "class for itself." As the researchers correctly emphasize, "the creation of a political organization of a class is an indispensable but still inadequate condition for constituting a class."¹⁰

Naturally all of the above cannot overshadow the fact that with the appearance of the last volumes of the publication under review, Soviet Latin American studies have taken a large and important step forward in the study of the continent's working class. It may be that it is worth thinking about bringing

together in one place all the sections in the work which are devoted to Latin America for the purpose of preparing a general study entitled "The Latin American Workers Movement. Questions of History and Theory."

FOOTNOTES

1. "Mezhdunarodnoye rabocheye dvizheniye. Voprosy istorii i teorii" [International Workers Movement. Questions of History and Theory]. Main Editorial Committee: B.N. Ponomarev (chairman) and others. Moscow, "Mysl", Vols 1, 2, 1976; Vol 3, 1978; Vols 4, 5, 6, 1981; Vol 7, 8, 1985.

2. "Mezhdunarodnoye rabocheye dvizheniye. Voprosy istorii i teorii." Vol 7, "Rabochiy klass i natsionalno-osvoboditelnyye revolyutsii posle vtoroy mirovoy voyny" [The Working Class and the National-Liberation Revolutions after the Second World War]. Editorial Board: K.N. Brutents, G.F. Kim (editors-in-chief), V.V. Volskiy, Anat. A. Gromyko, A.S. Kaufman, V.I. Koval, N.A. Simoniya and others; Introduction by B.N. Ponomarev. Moscow, 1985, p 591.

3. The primary authors of the respective sections of the entire publication are Yu. I. Vizgunova, N.P. Kalmykov, B.M. Merin, M.A. Okuneva, Y.S. Popov and A.F. Shulgovskiy. Others who worked on individual chapters were R.M. Bakhitov, V.N. Grishin, Yu.A. Zubritskiy, B. I. Koval, L.V. Pegusheva, S.I. Semenov, V.A. Tsaregorodtsev and others.

4. K. Marx and F. Engels. "Soch." [Works], Vol 2, p 40.

5. Ibid., Vol 20, p 26.

6. We would point out, for example, an important work such as "Kapitalizm v Latinskoy Amerike" [Capitalism in Latin America], published by the Institute of Latin America in 1983.

7. See G.K. Shirokov. "Promyshlennaya revolyutsiya v stranakh Vostoka" [The Industrial revolution in the Eastern Countries], Moscow, 1981.

8. V.V. Krylov. "On the Socio-Historical Types of Hired Labor in the Developing Countries," RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYI MIR, No 1, 1985, p 55-72.

9. "Razvivayushchiesya strany v sovremennom mire: yedinstvo i mnogoobraziye" [The Developing Countries in the Contemporary World: Unity and Diversity]. Moscow, 1983, p 228-268; Yu.A. Vasilchuk. "Nauchno-tekhnicheskaya revolyutsiya i rabochiy klass pri kapitalizme" [The Scientific-Technical Revolution and the Working Class Under Capitalism]. Moscow, 1980, pp 12- 15, 114- 115.

10. A.V. Gudymenko, "Concerning the Methodology of Marxist-Leninist Study of the Proletariat in the Developing Countries" NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No 6, 1981, p 81.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

MOSCOW PUBLISHES MEMOIRS OF CHILEAN COMMUNIST LUIS CORVALAN

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 2, Feb 86 pp 136-138

[Review by S.A. Mikoyan of book "My Verim v pobedu. Vospominaniya i razmyshleniya" [We Believe in Victory. Memoirs and Reflections] by Luis Corvalan, "Politizdat", Moscow, 1985, 248 pages]

[Text] There are people whose memoirs by themselves immediately become documents because they are among those who do not simply describe events but who are also active creators of them. One such person is Luis Corvalan, the general secretary of the Communist Party of Chile. The Politizdat Publishing House has brought out his book "My Verim v Pobedu," which consists of the reminiscences and reflections of an outstanding Latin American revolutionary; it was started in the Ritok Concentration Camp in August 1974 and finished in Moscow.

The book begins with Lucho's impressions of his childhood, impressions which not only vividly characterize the living conditions of the poor people of Chile but also logically lead the reader toward the time when the young student at a teaching college in Chillan was drawn into the political life of the country, which had overthrown the reactionary Ibanes government. In February 1932 he joined the ranks of the communist party. As a young communist and school teacher in Iquique, he participates in agitation and organizational work, in the course of which the consciousness of the proletariat's vanguard grew, as did its understanding of the tactical tasks of the moment. At that time the top priority task was the establishment of the Popular Front. Corvalan was fired from the school for this work.

Having moved from Concepcion, Lucho became active in the affairs of the Youth Federation of Communists and was chosen a member of its Central Committee. On the eve of the Second World War he was in Santiago. Here he begins work as a party journalist in the editorial department of the FRENTE POPULAR, and subsequently in the newspaper SIGLO, where he was promoted from deputy head of the trade-union life section to editor-in-chief. After the Second World War the progressive forces in Chile are subjected to repressions from the government of Gonzalez Videla. Corvalan goes underground, then lands in prison.

In 1952 regular elections take place. For the first time the communists support the candidacy of Salvador Allende, who was put forward by the Socialist Party; he received only 50,000 votes at that time. "But Allende's candidacy marked the beginning of a principled position, which over the years turned into a genuinely revolutionary and national alternative," writes Luis Corvalan (p 103). Further: "Allende's candidacy brought to life the People's Front, which included the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Democratic Party and the Labor Party. Moreover, the establishment of the United Trade Union Center of Chilean Workers put an end to the split in the trade union movement" (p 104).

The second part of the book, which is called "Santiago--Moscow--Santiago," was written in the USSR, where the leader of the Chilean communists, who escaped from Pinochet's torture chambers as a result of demands by progressive public opinion throughout the world, arrived in late 1976.

This part is also somewhat autobiographical in nature, although it is primarily the story of the tragedy which befell the people of Chile, and of the struggle of the Communist Party under the new conditions. Corvalan does not provide a detailed and systematic analysis of the nature of the revolutionary process and the reasons for its defeat, but this is contained in other speeches and articles which he has written. However, the reader will find in the book many interesting thoughts devoted to this problem.

It is noted that in March 1962, when the 12th party congress took place, the party adopted a policy of struggling to bring a people's government to power in the country. "The struggle was not always easy and it was not always peaceful: mass strikes, the occupation of land plots, street confrontations, protest marches--the struggle took various forms"--the author writes (p 131). Moreover, he points out that since the previous decade "the opportunity for the Chilean people to come to power by unarmed means had taken shape." He recounts the politics of alliance, which was carried out by the party, a policy which was attacked by its opponents but which was shown to be correct by the creation of the Popular Unity Coalition, and subsequently by the coming to power of this coalition.

There is great tension as the reader comes to the pages devoted to the eve of the military-fascist coup, pages which contain an analysis of the policy which the CPC was to adhere to in the event a coup became reality. This analysis was made on 10 September 1973 at a session of the Political Committee. "The militarized forces which our party had at its disposal were enough to start a guerrilla war under certain conditions. But there were obviously not enough for battles the outcome of which had to be decided within two or three days..." L. Corvalan concludes (p 147).

In his discussion of the main successes and failures of the Communist Party within the framework of Popular Unity, L. Corvalan cites a quotation from a report on the party's military policy, made at his insistence in 1977 by the comrade who was responsible for that aspect of party work. "The essence of the problem," he writes, "is that at the level of the Central Committee we proved to be incapable of fully implementing the party line, which directed

attention to the need to master all forms of struggle" (p 161). Similar judgments show a high degree of self-criticism on the part of the Communist Party of Chile.

The book recounts the steadfastness of the Chilean communists in the difficult conditions of the underground and in emigration. Very important are the pages devoted to the party's organizational and political work, the aim of which is to close the ranks of communists both at home and abroad. This work is an example of how bravely and consciously the representatives of the vanguard of the democratic forces of Chile have conducted themselves. The result is the party's ability to fight, its effectiveness and its unity today, in a period when the national struggle against the hateful dictatorship is growing.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

BOOK ON CUBAN WORKING CLASS IN REVOLUTION REVIEWED

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[Review by A.D. Bekarevich of book "Rabochiy klass v kubinskoy revolyutsii" [The Working Class in the Cuban Revolution] by M.A. Okuneva, Moscow, "Nauka", 1985, 152 pages]

[Text] The study of the Cuban revolutionary experience is one of the important tasks facing Soviet Latin American specialists. In the acute ideological struggle which is taking place with regard to the problems of the Cuban revolution, the bourgeois and ultra-rightist ideologues attempt to refute the Marxist-Leninist teaching about the role of the working class and its party, to belittle the significance of the working class in the present-day world and to prove the inapplicability of Marxism-Leninism's basic principles to Latin America. This monograph by the well-known Soviet researcher M.A. Okuneva, doctor of historical sciences, is devoted to refuting anti-Marxist concepts and to providing a comprehensive evaluation of the leading role of the working class in the victory of the Cuban revolution.

In this historical essay the author has shown the achievements of Marxist historiography in the treatment of the Cuban worker and the anti-imperialist movement, as well as the need to intensify the study of such aspects as the evaluation of the class consciousness of various segments of the working class, the historical process of the formation of class consciousness and the influence on the workers and anti-imperialist movement of such a very important factor as the participation of the Cuban working people in the movement for international proletarian solidarity. This kind of comprehensive historico-sociological research has not been carried out before either in Soviet or foreign historiography.

Having studied the vast literature on the Cuban revolution published in Latin America, the USA, England, France, the FRG, Spain and the Netherlands, the author has provided a detailed critical analysis of the basic concepts within the subject of the investigation. Okuneva has convincingly shown that the conclusions of bourgeois authors of various trends and the concepts of the supporters of petty bourgeois revolutionaryism agree on the denial of the leading role of the working class and the revolutionary party; they attempt to set the experience of the Cuban revolution against the Marxist-Leninist

teaching and to utilize this to discredit the revolutionary forces of Latin America. The book provides substantial proof that the criticism of the anti-Marxist concepts of the Cuban revolution is an essential condition for the successful treatment of the timely problems of the Latin American revolutionary process.

In the monograph considerable attention is devoted to a comprehensive criticism of the theory of the "privileged nature" of the Cuban proletariat: the theoretical groundlessness of that theory is revealed, and its class roots and ideological sources are shown. The author notes that the concepts of the "bourgeoisification" of the Cuban working class and attempts to present it as devoid of class consciousness occupy the largest role in the distortion of the Cuban revolutionary experience. The groundlessness of these anti-Marxist theories is revealed through a large body of material on the history of the growth of the class consciousness of the Cuban proletariat. Having broken down the basic stages of this process, the author emphasizes that the proletariat's consciousness of its own interests as class interests was strengthened in the course of the class and anti-imperialist struggle.

Okuneva has studied a substantial aspect of this problem: the formation of class consciousness in the course of participation by Cuban working people in the international proletarian solidarity movement. This kind of formulation of the subject concerning the role of proletarian internationalism in the history of the workers and liberation movement of the Cuban people has an extremely timely ring to it. The author utilizes the Cuban experience to refute bourgeois and revisionist attacks on proletarian internationalism. Having studied an enormous amount of archival material, Okuneva re-creates a picture of the influence of the solidarity movement on the anti-imperialist and workers movement and on the growth of the proletariat's class consciousness. New materials discovered in Cuba about V.I. Lenin, about the publication of his writings in the workers press and about the influence of the ideas of Leninism on the Cuban revolutionary process are of great value.

The book provides thorough substantiation for the thesis that since the Russian revolution of 1905, and especially since the victory of Great October, solidarity with revolutionary Russia has become the core of the Cuban people's internationalist efforts. The author deals with the influence of the 1st Five-Year Plan, the socialist construction in the USSR and the anti-military statements and movements of solidarity in the 20's and 30's on the growth of the working people's revolutionary consciousness. Of particular interest are new materials on the solidarity of the progressive forces in Cuba with the struggle of the Soviet people in the period of the Great Patriotic War. The author concludes that "the understanding that the Soviet state is a 'torch of world civilization'¹ and that the strengthening of the world system of socialism" is of decisive significance for the victory of the Cuban revolution is an achievement of Cuban social thought and of the mass consciousness of the working people" (p 147).

In the monograph a central role is given to an investigation of the role of the working class as a leading force in the struggle against the Batista dictatorship. The fact that the revolution started under the leadership of a

revolutionary democracy, Okuneva writes, not only does not conflict with the thesis about the working class as the decisive, moving force of revolution, but, on the contrary, provides evidence about the broadening of ways to implement its historical mission in the present era. A manifestation of the leading role of the working class can be seen in the influence of proletarian ideology on revolutionary democracy. The politics of the latter arose from the proletariat's interests and ideas, which acquired top-priority significance in the course of the revolution. Workers constituted a majority of those who stormed the Moncada, who took part in the Granma expedition and the struggle of the 26th of July Movement, and who fought in the Rebel Army and the urban underground. The author uses new material to trace the revolutionary path of the workers who were heroes of the revolution. Of great interest is the analysis of the strike movement and of the influence of the heroic struggle of the 26th of July Movement on the activization of the working class and the workers movement, as well as the influence of its fighting traditions on the evolution of revolutionary democracy toward scientific socialism.

In an analysis of the development of the class consciousness of various segments of the proletariat, Okuneva reveals that under Cuban conditions the Leninist thesis about the vanguard role of cadre workers proved to be effective. The Marxist analysis which this book provides of sociological materials, as well as the broad panorama of all forms of struggle by the working class in the years of revolution, have enabled the author to substantiate an important conclusion that "the most profound class consciousness was that of the sugar industry workers, who were concentrated in the major capitalist enterprises" (p 151).

1. C. Balino. "Documento y articulos." La Habana, 1976, p 241-242.

In this book the problem of working class participation in the revolution is presented in a manner which takes account of the contradictory nature of this process and of the factors which opposed the development of the workers political consciousness, including a wild outburst of anticommunism, the dissemination of trade union doctrines and the domination of "workers bureaucracy" in trade unions. The fact that during the Cuban revolution the leading role of the working class was carried out under complex and unique conditions provides evidence of the effectiveness of the Leninist theory of revolution and of the new opportunities for its realization in the present era.

Okuneva's book also has certain flaws. Specifically, it does not reflect with sufficient completeness the revolutionary practice of the proletariat, especially on the eve of the revolutionary victory. In general, however, this monograph, which sums up many years of work on the author's part, makes an undoubted contribution to the study of the revolutionary process in Cuba and in Latin America.

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